



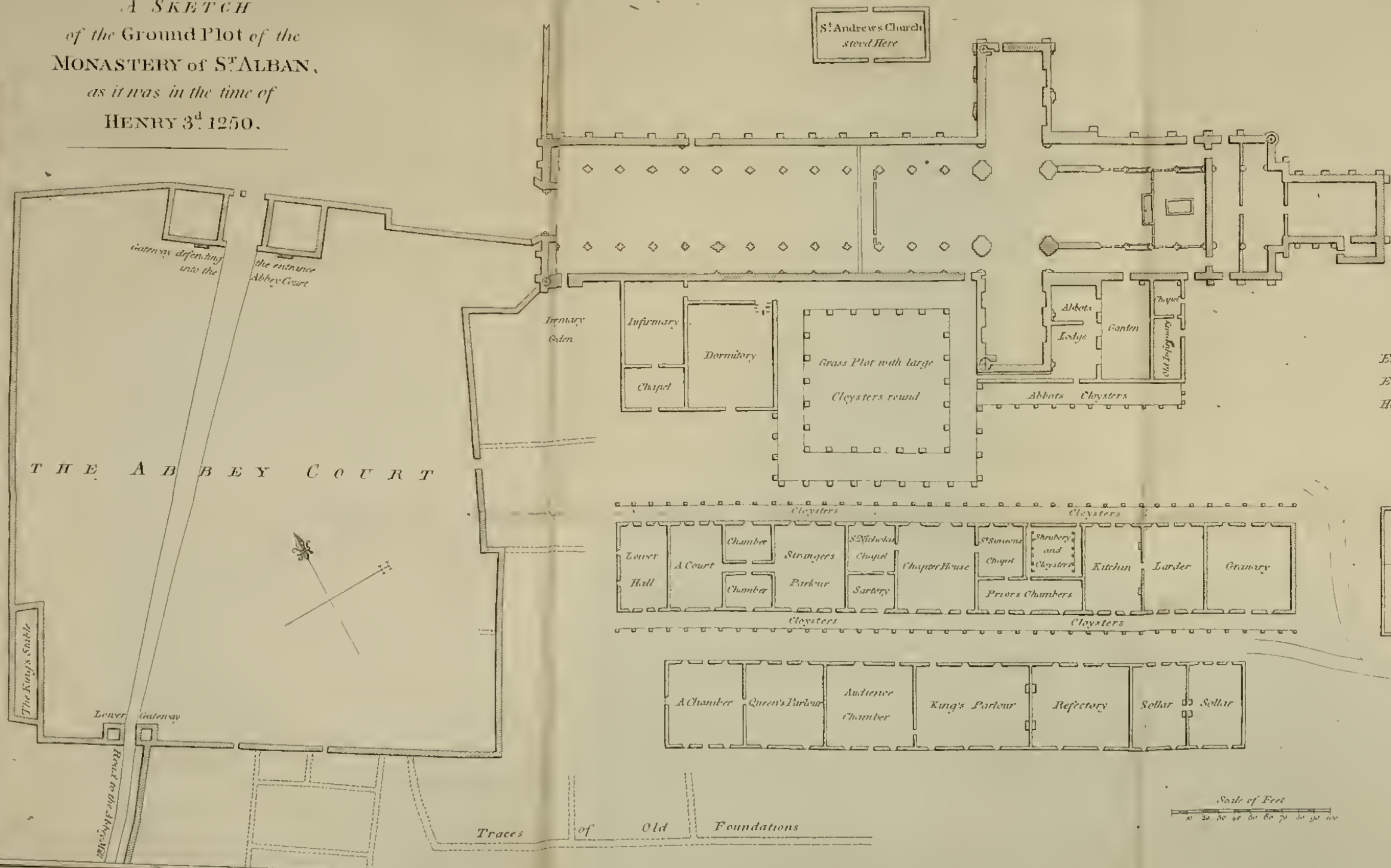
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and FROEDER, in 1841.

M.DCC.XCV.

A SKETCH
of the Ground Plot of the
MONASTERY of S^T ALBAN,
as it was in the time of
HENRY 3^d. 1250.



Extrem Length of the Abbey..... Feet
Extrem Breadth..... 217
Height to the Turret..... 144

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
ANCIENT AND ROYAL FOUNDATION,
CALLED
THE ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN,
IN THE
COUNTY OF HERTFORD,
FROM THE FOUNDING THEREOF, IN 793,
TO ITS DISSOLUTION, IN 1539.
EXHIBITING THE LIFE OF EACH ABBOT,
AND THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS RELATING TO
THE MONASTERY,
DURING HIS RULE AND GOVERNMENT.
EXTRACTED FROM THE MOST FAITHFUL AUTHORITIES AND RECORDS,
BOTH PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT.
WITH PLATES; AND A NEW MAP OF THE COUNTY.

BY THE REVEREND PETER NEWCOME,
RECTOR OF SHENLEY, HERTS.

L O N D O N:

Printed, for the Author, by J. NICHOLS:

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and FAULDER, in BOND-STREET; and HOOPER, and FLEXNEY, in HOLBORN.

M.DCC.XCV.

1. Breton
1775

NAMES OF THE ABBOTS.

	Willegod	.	.	began in	791.	
	Eadric	.	.	.	794.	
	Vulfig	.	.	.	.	in the time of Alfred.
	Vulnoth					
5	Ædfrid	.	.	.	.	in the time of Edmund the Pious.
	Ulfius	.	.	.	948.	
	Ælfric	.	.	.	.	in the time of Edgar.
	Faldred					
	Eadmer					
10	Leofric					
	Ælfric	.	.	.	.	in the time of Canute.
	Leofstan	.	.	.	.	in the time of Edw. Conf.
	Frederic	.	.	.	1064.	
	Paul, the Norman,	.	.	.	1077.	
15	Richard d'Aubeny or d'Exaquo	.	.	.	1097.	
	Geoffry de Gorham	.	.	.	1119.	
	Ralph de Gobion	.	.	.	1146.	
	Robt. de Gorham	.	.	.	1151.	
	Symon	.	.	.	1168.	
20	Warren, Guarinus,	.	.	.	1183.	
	John de Cella, or of Studham,	.	.	.	1195.	
	William de Trumpington,	.	.	.	1214.	
	John de Hertford			succeeded	1235,	buried in the church.
25	Roger de Norton	.	.	.	1260	} buried in the choir near the great candlestick, close died 1308. [together.
	John de Berkampsted	.	.	.	1291	
	John de Marinis	.	.	.	1302	
	Hugo de Evesden	.	.	.	1308,	} 1 Edw. II. buried near to- gether in the presbytery, on the right of the great altar.
	Richard de Wallingford	.	.	.	1326	
	Michael de Mentmore	.	.	.	1335	
30	Thomas de la Mare	.	.	.	*1349	
	John Moot	.	.	.	1396,	and died 1401.
	William Heyworth	.	.	.	1401.	
	John Whethampstead	.	.	.	1420,	and resigned 1440.
	John Stokes	.	.	.	elected 1440,	and died 1451.
35	John Whethampstead	.	.	.	rechosen,	and died 1460.
	William Alban	.	.	.	chosen 1460,	and died 1476.
	William Wallingford	.	.	.	chosen 1476,	and died 1484, 1 Rich. III.
	Thomas Ramryge	.	.	.	elected 1492,	his death uncertain.
	Thomas Woolley	.	.	.	appointed 1526,	and died Nov. 2, 1530.
40	Robert Catton	.	.	.	ruled 8 years,	and died 1538.
	Richard Boreman, alias Stevenache,				1538,	and surrendered Dec. 5, 1539.

* As appears by his epitaph in Weaver, p. 556.

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P A R T II.

C H A P T E R VI.

MICHAEL MENTMORE.

ON the tenth day after the burial of Richard, *Michael de Mentmore* was elected abbot. He was descended of reputable honest parents (living at a village named Mentmore, in the vale of Aylesbury), who gave him a good education at Oxford, and probably among some of the Benedictine scholars: when master of arts, he was admitted, by abbot Hugo, to be a monk in this abbey, where he lived in the good opinion and estimation of all, but never was placed in any office. As soon as elected he hastened to the king's chancellor, at Nottingham, who was the archbishop John Stratford, the king then being in Scotland and at a great distance. In August he set forward to the pope, and, having been well received and his papers of election approved, he returned in winter.

Michael, the
29th abbot.

Michael, the
29th abbot.

His attention was wholly employed in devising rules and orders for sustaining and advancing the honour of the monkish life, and in particular of the Benedictine order; and this he did in consequence of a general chapter of all the monasteries here in England, held about this time at Northampton. He ordained that the monks should be divided at the time of dining, one half to dine at the gateway, while the other were dining in the refectory, and thus alternately; but this was to take place, on those days only when they were to eat flesh: and he directed that the conquinar should, on those days, provide two good courses. The reason of the first order doth not appear; but the second was necessary, from the very scanty diet which they had on the fish-days. He made some other regulations, for the benefit and advantage of the students at Oxford, and for the distribution of the alms at the gate. He directed that all the great officers of the house should give the treasurer twenty shillings yearly, out of their respective allowances, in consideration of his extra-expenditure on the day of a great mass. He ordered likewise that the refectorer should give to the treasurer eight shillings, for two quarters of wheat, due yearly from the manor of Childwick; which two quarters had been purchased formerly by archbishop Maryns (John IV.) of William Beneyn and his heirs, who had purchased the same of Geoffrey de Childwick when he had usurped this estate. He appointed also three collectors, to gather the rents and prevent arrears; and here he recovered 7s. 8d. of John Atte Hill of Oxeye, for one field held by him, above the old rent.

He ordained it as a rule, that a stipend of 20s. yearly be allowed to the prior, 13s. 4d. to the precentor, 10s. to the sub-prior, to the succentor and to each of the scrutators 6s. 8d. and to each of the monks 3s. 4d; these to be annually allowed, in consideration of their poverty, and of their necessary charges at great festivals: but to the other officers nothing was allowed. He directed some amendment to be made to the comforts of the dormitory, (where they never had sufficient clothing on their beds,) by allowing them rugs and night-caps (a). He also enacted it as a perpetual rule and law, that no prior, or any other officer, should be the proctor of another, or executor of any person defunct, or take on him any kind of office under an order from the king, without the consent and consultation of the abbot and chapter. He directed that none of the younger

(a) Pelliccas et caputias.

priests.

priests should attend, to bear the censers and the wax lights, if ^{Michael, the 29th abbot.} there were nine of the monks present.

It was also provided, with the consent of the chapter, that the master of the infirmary should receive an addition to the money allowed him, and this out of the tithes of Sandridge; that the almoner should be allowed more, and this from the lands of Tydenhangre beyond the water, and likewise more from the manor of Apta(a), and ten acres of land at Colney, and from nine acres situate in divers crofts near the mansion of Sopwell, and of the crofts lying within the inclosure of that meadow, and from a meadow lately acquired, and from other lands there, (excepting the lands of Gylefeld), and from four acres of land called Leneynlonnd. Likewise the Almoner (these are the words) ‘ Shall take all the ‘ tithe from the way which leads from to the grange of the ‘ cell; and so, as far as Colney; and so, from the higher Colney ‘ as far as the demesne lands of Park; and so as far as the water ‘ which leads to Park mill; and so by the river which leads to Stank- ‘ field-mill, together with Leneynlonnd; and from the land which, ‘ before the Exchange, belonged to the infirmarer, and was called ‘ Gardineslonnd.’ And here is the first separation and distinct allotment of that portion of tithe, which, at the dissolution, went to the crown, with all the other estates, and was granted, by Edward VI. together with the estate of Tydenhangre, to Sir Thomas Pope. This allotment to the almoner shews how extensive their gifts and donations were, to stand in need of so large an augmentation: and my author gives this valediction to the appointment, *Valeat ista ordinatio, et inconcussa remaneat.*

This abbot, as hath been said before, made many new constitutions, among which he instituted some for the leprous brethren at St. Julian’s, who, before, living under no rule or regulation, grew to be a nuisance to their neighbours and a scandal to themselves. He framed rules for the better government of the nuns of Sopwell; and these remained long in use, and in estimation.

It had happened, in the last year of Wallingford’s life, that he had been in extreme want of money; and, to relieve himself and abbey, he sold or pawned eight sacks of wool, in the winter, to one Thomas Gentylicors and Christina Puff his wife, for 200l.; and gave a bond for the same to Thomas, promising to pay the money before

(a) Napsbury.

Michael, the 29th abbot. the Michaelmas following. This the abbot Richard performed, and took back the wool; but the bond, or obligation, by neglect was left with Gentylicors. And, on the death of Richard, the bond is produced, and demand of payment made, by that man and his wife, —with many threats of indemnifying themselves. In this perplexity it was in vain to plead the negligence of Richard or of his officers, some of whom could attest to the faithful performance of his contract. Michael was forced to compromise and to agree, under hand and seal, to give yearly, to one William Puff, a pension of 20 shillings, and one robe of the sort worn by the clergy, or 20 shillings in lieu thereof; and this to hold until Michael should provide for the said William some benefice, which William should think fit for his acceptance. This agreement and covenant being made and signed, Michael sent a trusty monk to Thomas to demand the bond. Thomas refused to deliver it, or to permit the monk to read, or to inspect it; but held it in his hand, and, after much argument and plea on the part of the monk, threw the paper into the fire. From this circumstance, and as the monk saw no marks of a bond, he concluded the same to be a counterfeit, framed in pretence by this foreigner Gentylicors.

In this abbot's time another fraud was committed by one William Attepenne of Barnet, who had forged writings, for himself and for many others, pretending that the lands and tenements, held by them in Barnet and in South-Mymes, had been made free by some former abbot. But, on inspection of these deeds, they were all found so much alike in the writing, and to have been smoked in the chimney, to give them an air of antiquity, and in this very trick to resemble each other so exactly, that a suspicion arose of their falsehood; and this was confirmed, when it appeared that, in the register of acts and deeds, no such transaction as an enfranchisement had been allowed. The abbot brought an action against the parties, and obtained a verdict and judgement; and Michael, by order of the judge, gave them a new admission to their tenements.

The prior of Ryshmead, in Bedfordshire, had complained, by his attorney, against Adam Flann of Newenham, that he unjustly withheld the manor of Caldecot, near Ashwell, from him, the said prior. To which Flann answered, that he held the same of the abbot and church of St. Alban; and this began to alarm Michael; but it was found that Hugo had granted this manor to Flann during his life; and

and the prior, finding strong evidence against him, withdrew his claim, &c. This was in the 14th year of Edward III. Michael, the
29th abbot.

In the 15th year of Edward, a great dispute and contention arose between the vicar of St. Peter's, named William Puff, and the infirmarer; each claiming the offerings made at a new cross, which had been erected in the church-yard by Roger Stoke, and carved with his own hand, and under which he had been interred. The vicar had taken these oblations, and the infirmarer claimed, under a grant and ancient ordinance, which allowed him all the offerings made at that church, as well as the great tithes of the parish. The parties were both cited into the consistory, held in the abbey-church; where, after much argument, the vicar was condemned for unjustly detaining the oblations, and directed to pay 40 shillings to the infirmarer.

About this time, a demand was made on the abbot from the king's exchequer, that he should pay a certain sum, on knighting the king's eldest son, and marriage of his eldest daughter; and that the manor of Greenbury, in the county of Bucks, stood charged with the payment. The abbot resisted this claim, and, the king's treasurer failing in proof, the abbot demanded a writ, setting forth the exemption.

The south wing of the church had been in a ruinous state, and in great want of repair, for 20 years past; and it was now undertaken, and restored to a sound state, together with part of the cloister, by the encouragement of Michael, and the skill of the sacrist.

This abbot finding he could not enjoy any repose at his mansion of Tydenhangre, by reason of the great concourse of people, who, both going and coming from London, would turn from the road, to pay their duty to my lord the abbot, he repaired a mansion, called Bradelkey, on another part of the same manor, and built a chapel, hall, chambers, and kitchen; he erected a bakehouse and a great gate; and inclosed the whole with a wall.

In the time of this abbot, the archbishop of Damascus (named Hugo, and of the Greek Church,) came to this abbey, and in his devotions and thanks, he set up three images, that of the Virgin, another of Thomas Becket, and a third of St. Oswyn, in the south wing, then newly rebuilt; for the repair amounted to almost a new construction. He also provided and dedicated two great bells, in the room of one which had been broken in sounding the curfew; this bell had been called Amphibal; and another, called
Alban,

Michael, the
29th abbot.

Alban, was re-cast by the skill of Adam Wancastre the sacrist, and well known in the days of Walsingham for its melodious sound (a).

Michael presented many books to his church, namely, two good bibles, one for the use of the choir, and the other for the abbot's study. He gave also one ordinal, very beautiful to the eye, and very costly in the ornamental part; likewise a very fine psalter for the use of the choir; and many other books, all inscribed with his name. He gave also to the church a very beautiful vestment, of a scarlet stuff commonly called Taffety, powdered with archangels in gold, with work of embroidery; and for which he paid twenty marks sterling. A brother, John de Bulsille, made an offer to purchase this robe: but died before the bargain was made, leaving, by will, a sufficient sum for the purpose; and the abbot took the money and delivered the robe to the executor.

In Michael's time, a knight, named Ralph Weedon, came to reside in the monastery, being aged, and very infirm; and promised to make recompence, by giving to this abbey, in pure alms, his manor of Heymondscote (b). But, as it was difficult to convey estates and appropriate to the clergy, by reason of the Mortmain laws then in being, he conveyed it over to a friend of the abbot's, one Henry Green, a man skilled in the laws; who, after the death of Weedon, sold the manor for 500 marks, and gave the same to the abbey, as the only way of being benefited by Weedon's generosity.

In his time also, a certain lady, named Dame Parnel de Banstede, made an offering of several valuable articles; namely, a round altar cloth, adorned with jasper stones below, and surrounded with a border of solid silver. This lady, bearing good affection to the saint, desired to deposit, in the custody of the abbot, all her rich plate and other valuables, at this special time, when the county of Hertford (for she lived near this town) was very much harrassed with robbers, and frequent outrages were heard of as committed by the king's disbanded soldiers. Accordingly, leave being given, Parnel fills a huge chest with gravel and lead, and causes the same to be conveyed through the town, on a market-day, to the monastery. Here it was received in due form, and put under the special charge of the treasurer. At length, when the country was safe, and the soldiers gone to the wars, the lady comes and demands her chest, and, having

(a) Sonoritate commendabilis.

(b) Probably Harmondsworth near Colnbrook.

called together the chief persons of the house, she opens it in their presence, and utters this rebuke and caution, ‘ I have nothing here Michael, the 29th abbot.
 ‘ but gravel and lead; and I have done this to deceive the robbers;
 ‘ but it behoves you never to take a deposit without a witness to
 ‘ its value: for, was I false, I might now charge you as the
 ‘ robbers.’

In his time, queen Philippa was delivered of a son at Langley, and Michael was not only invited, but chosen to baptize this infant. He stood in so high estimation among the courtiers and nobles, that they thought his hands would convey with the blessing a more peculiar degree of sanctity and merit. The child was named *Edmund de Langley*, and the earls, John de Warren and Richard de Arundel, were the sponsors. The queen, after due time, (*expletis solenniis purificationis*), came to the abbey, and there made an offering of a cloth of gold of great value.

The very strict discipline in which the monks were held may be perceived by the following instance. At Tinmouth, a monk had administered the *viaticum* (as the sacrament was then called) to a sick woman, at her request, without leave of the vicar of the parish. The prior rebuked him for this presumption, by which he incurred a sentence of excommunication; the monk confessed and begged pardon. This availed nothing, and he was suddenly dispatched to this abbey, where he was told, that nothing could procure him absolution but the pope’s grace; and, until that arrived, he must submit to a sentence of penance, to wit, ‘ that he must be confined in one of the
 ‘ chambers of the infirmary, and remain in solitude, having his food
 ‘ brought to him by a little boy; and, when it was necessary to
 ‘ give him a change of air, that he should be allowed to walk in the
 ‘ garden at a certain time, but only at such hours as nobody was
 ‘ present, and no conversation could pass.’

It was now the year 1349, and a pestilential disorder had appeared in the country, and the abbot was one of the first who felt the direful effects of that putrid corrupt air which was bringing with it the seeds of death. It was Maundy Thursday, when Michael had done the duty of the choir in person; and, on this day, the service was long, being the great mass, and attended with the ceremony of washing the feet of the poor. This token of humility, and most humiliating labour of love, the abbot had performed; and, retiring to rest, he complained of pain and sickness. This confined him to his bed; and, increasing on him, finished his life on the tenth day, when he was called away from the fallacies of this world to the truths

Michael, the 29th abbot, and substantial realities of the next,—from darkness to the true light.

The abbot of Waltham was called to perform the last obsequies, and Michael was interred on the Thursday in Easter week. This pestilence was very mortal; for, besides those monks who died in the cells, the number who died here about this time was not less than *forty-seven*, and these some of the most pious and holy men of the house. ‘There never appeared a man,’ says Walsingham, ‘of greater humility, piety, justice, and integrity; and, as was said of Moses, none so mild and gentle: and his death would have been greatly lamented, had he left brethren behind him; and the loss irreparable, had not such a man as Thomas de la Mare succeeded.’

THOMAS DE LA MARE.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. This Thomas was descended from very respectable parents, and connected by blood to many great families. His father was Sir John de la Mare, knight, and his mother was Joanna, the daughter of Sir John de Herpsfield, knight. As relations of his father, there were reckoned, Sir William Montecute, an earl; Sir William de la Zouch, lord of Haryngworth; Sir Thomas Grandison, knight; and master Thomas Grandison, bishop of Exeter; all very conspicuous men and illustrious characters. Beside many relations of the same name, he had affinity with many knights, then rich in fortune, and of high military rank, as Sir Richard de Haveryng, John de St. Leger, John Argent, and Thomas Basingborne (a).

The father and mother had issue three sons and one daughter; and they all made choice of a religious life. They had an uncle by the father's side, named William, who had been bred among the canons regular at Missenden, and who had been chosen abbot. But the brother of Thomas, named Richard, entered among the religious at Thetford; John took the vow at this abbey; and the sister, named Dionysia, became a sister and nun at the hospital of St. Pree.

(a) He was probably a near relation of Sir Peter de la Mare, said to be the first speaker of the House of Commons. See *Louth's Life of Wickham*.

Thomas had received some tincture of grammar-learning while a boy, ^{Thomas I. the 30th abbot.} though we know not where; but, as soon as he could judge for himself, he came to abbot Hugo, and begged to be admitted. He is said to have been a youth of extraordinary beauty; and, without much examination or enquiry, the abbot was so pleased with the ingenuity and plain countenance of the lad, that he consented, and sent him away to the cell at Wymondham, there to begin his monastic career, with directions there to assume the habit, and stay until he was sent for hither. At Wymondham, he devoted himself to a studious regularity and observance of all the rules and customs; and, though attentive to learn every thing, he shewed himself cheerful among his brethren, and, at the same time, humble, patient, and quiet. But Hugo died while Thomas was in this state of discipline, and he received the benediction and made the professional vow before abbot Richard. In that cell he applied himself to learn the art of rhetoric(a), and made such progress therein, that, for the future, he could dictate or write letters, without any faults, even to the pope himself. He acquired a great degree of skill in this art; and, by this practice in it, he was thought the most worthy to be made abbot. He had been monk ten years when Richard Wallingford died: and Michael, hearing of the fame of Thomas, thought him a fit man to bear an office in the abbey. He accordingly sent for him, and appointed him one of his *bajuli*, or table-companions and privy counsellors. And here, the brethren requesting to have a coquinar, or steward, to direct and superintend their table, on a complaint from the former coquinar and his deputy, that they knew not how to get a supply of victual, the abbot appointed Thomas to the office of steward, and the keys were delivered into his hands. He performed the duties thereof for one year with great credit and satisfaction, and was then appointed cellarer; and, the prior of Tinnmouth dying soon after, Thomas was sent thither, to take the government of that house. There he suffered great vexations and troubles, in endeavouring to recover the manor of Hanslow, then unjustly seized and detained by Gerard de Wythington(b), a potent knight in the north. This man used the most audacious threats against Thomas, and once plotted an ambuscade, in order to assassinate him. But this outrage made the gentry more favorable to Thomas; and the Lady Mary Percy, sister of Henry duke of Lancaster and the relict of lord

(a) Ad sciendam retoricam.

(b) Perhaps the *Wuthrington* of martial fame in the north, and celebrated in *Cherry Chase*.

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

Henry Percy, supported him, with promises of aid from her tenants : she sent to him all her jewels, with an order to raise soldiers if necessary. The cause of Thomas gained to it more friends daily, and the iniquities of Gerard became more known ; for, he had certainly killed a man some time before, though it escaped any farther notice. At length, he ceased his persecution against Thomas, and yielded up the manor.

About this time, when Edward was fighting at Cressy, in the year 1346, David le Brus, king of Scotland, invaded England ; and the Scots being led by a bold commander, named William Douglas, this man sends a message to the prior *to prepare a breakfast for him and his men for two days*, intending hereby to terrify the prior. But, in a few days, this commander was made prisoner, and conducted to the priory, when the prior accosted him with much civility, and declared himself ‘ never more pleased or honoured than to have such ‘ a guest at such a time.’

Ralph Neville, then keeper of the marches, intended to send all the Scots prisoners to Tinnmouth, under pretence of confining them there in the castle, but, in reality, to eat up the prior and live on the church. On this, Thomas hastened away to the king, who was just arrived at Langley, and petitioned Edward, that he would protect the priory and church of Tinnmouth, and suffer no one, not even the prior, to lodge prisoners in the castle or make any orders to that effect.

Having obtained a little repose from these enemies without, he turned his thoughts to improvements and reparations within. He rebuilt the malt-house at the expence of 90l. he laid out 87l. about the dormitory ; and he augmented the rents and profits of their estates to the yearly amount of 35l. 4s. 10d. He expended in the whole, in new buildings and repairs, the sum of 864l. during the nine years he presided as prior of Tinnmouth : of which nine years the *three* first were wholly employed in combating his enemies ; the *three* next he employed in peaceful study, and in *preaching the word of God*, which he not only performed (contrary to custom) in his own person, but he retained with him, for the same purpose, many secular clergy, and many of the mendicant orders, namely, the frier preachers and minors, who were most capable of aiding him in this work ; and he encouraged this duty of the religious life, as perceiving it wholly omitted in the monasteries, used only in a small degree by the seculars, or parish-priests, and engrossed wholly by

two new orders, who professed and endured poverty and begging; —and the three last years he spent in improving the state of the buildings, and putting them in a good condition.

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

At the time of Michael's death, the prior and sub-prior were taken off by the same sudden stroke of pestilence; and the surviving monks knew not how to proceed to fill these vacancies: but, on consulting the learned in the law, they instantly made choice of Thomas de Risborow for prior; and he, the same day, appointed John Wodrow the sub-prior. A day was then fixed for the election of abbot; and the priors were all cited to appear. Thomas, when he approached this town, chose to rest himself at Childwick, as a place of more safety; but, on the day of election, he entered the abbot's chapel, and found there *Henry Stukley*, prior of Wymondam, *John Calderwell*, prior of Bynham, *William de Belvoir*, prior of Belvoir, *Adam de Gwytenham*, *Walter de Caville*, and a few monks. It was agreed to conduct the election, as in former times, by the method called a Compromise (*per compromissarios*), which was to lodge the power in the hands of a few. The company agreed also in appointing, for this duty, all the priors, and the two brethren above named. The rest having withdrawn, the persons present cast their eye on the learning and rank of Stukley, and he was requested to retire, to give room for private opinion to declare itself; and, in this moment, something was suggested which drew a general declaration *that he was unfit*. Then it was requested that Thomas should retire, and, in a few minutes, it was agreed, with unanimous voice, that he should be the abbot. He was then conducted into the church, and one of the brethren made proclamation, *that Thomas was unanimously and canonically elected*. He next retired to the chamber of the prior, where it was the custom for the new elect to abide, until he went to Rome and received complete investiture.

He made haste in preparing for this necessary journey, and chose for companions Henry de Stukley, and William de Derfyngham; but this man, being ordered to set out before, was seized with a fatal disease at Canterbury, and there died and was buried. He then made choice of three seculars to attend him, namely, William Purser, of St. Alban's; master Lawrence Stoke; and Stephen de la Mare, a relation; but Purser, being taken ill at Calais, returned. Here it was directed by Thomas, that they should lay aside their clerical habit and appear in a lay-dress; and, dividing, should repair, by different ways to the pope's court, then at Avignon. The servants did the

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

same; and Thomas went, and returned with no other attendant than one clerk, named Burcote. The reason of this prudential step was, because the two nations were at war, and a large company might be noticed and stopped. The pope approved and confirmed the election, and the charges in fees, presents, and gratuities, amounted to 4000 florins, or 1000 marcs; for the payment of which the abbot gave security at certain times. At his return, he hastened to do homage to the king, and receive his temporalities; and here the king, having much conversation with him, was so won by the dignity of his countenance and manner, and the freedom of his discourse, that he, ever after, bore him a peculiar regard and good will. The fees usually paid on this occasion were five pounds and five marcs to the king's chamberlain and mareschal; and, these being discharged, he returned.

The place of prior of Tinmouth had been filled up by Thomas as soon as he had been elected abbot, by his choice of Clement of Wheathampstead. But, before Clement could get possession, the bailiff of some great neighbour, named Hugo Peregym, began to seize the goods of the priory, as the crops on the ground, &c. under pretence of a claim from the king for first fruits, &c. and which, during the vacancy, might bear some show of right to hold the temporalities. But, the abbot having now applied to the king, he obtained a writ to recover from Hugo, and to ascertain in future what should be law, and to prevent these unjust seizures(a). He visited the priories as soon as he could be spared, and was absent a full year, hoping also to find a more wholesome air in new places; for, the pestilence still prevailed near London(b). He caused some

(a) Willis, in his *Mitred Abbies*, says, that in 1350 (the 23d of Edward III.) the king released by deed the abbot and convent from an obligation to pay a yearly pension of 5l. to the king's chaplains, in consideration that the abbot had now granted to the king the advowson of Datchet. I know not when such an obligation commenced, but the reason given for its propriety was that the king's progenitors had been the founders of the abbey. Sir H. Chauncey says, that in 1347 the king granted Thomas and his convent licence to improve the waste lands on their estates, by leasing them to tenants for life, years, or otherways; but he quotes no authority for this, and, if he be correct in the date and fact, the grant must have been to Mentmore, Thomas's predecessor.

(b) This pestilence was the cause of death to 50,000 people in London, for whose interment the lord Walter Manny purchased a piece of ground without Smithfield-Bars, belonging to the hospital of St. Bartholomew; and enclosed the same, built a chapel, and laid the foundation of the present *Chartreuse*, or Charter House. *Stow's Ann.* 246.

alterations to be made in the performance of the choir service, enjoin-^{Thomas I. be} ing that in the psalter the readers or singers should make a pause at ^{30 h} the end of each verse, and not conclude with singing out *ego dixi*; which was the usual and known signal for the next voice to begin; and thus he amended that practice, which resembled a company of blacksmiths at the anvil, who sang without the least intermission. Although the number of monks was greatly reduced by the plague, yet it was no small want in meat and drink that now afflicted the house, and very difficult it was to find a daily supply (a): on this, 16 monks were sent to dwell at Redburn. And, as it had been ordained by abbot Michael, that the allowance for firing at that time should be no more than two faggots a day from Michaelmas to the Purification of the Virgin Mary, it was thought necessary some addition should now be made: and it was hoped that they could live easier, and in more abundance, than in the abbey. The monks had suffered such want, that they had been necessitated to wander and beg, and had sold any little goods or property they had possessed. Together with these monks he sent a great parcel of clothing, and also all requisite furniture for their hall and for their table. It was necessary to build a new dormitory. He sent also books and ornamental hangings for the altar; and he built another house (with windows) in three parts, in which might be laid up their garments, or books, or any furniture not in use; and one part he reserved for himself to study in, whenever he should choose to make any stay at this place. He provided every convenience and necessary for this colony of monks, but they were in great want of good victuals; and, if they had not the plague among them, they were lingering under extreme hunger. In the monastery, he directed that each monk should be allowed a gift of 24 shillings, to find him necessaries, with orders to provide what they thought most needful. The prior and three brethren had been usually allowed, for their separate commons, to the value of 5 shillings in the week; but the abbot added one shilling more. A chapel also, dedicated to St. James, and situate below the prior's cloister, having been laid waste by fire some years ago, he now rebuilt and consecrated the same anew. When he was making his abode at Redburn, his practice was, to rise two hours before matins, and at that hour, if the bell-ringer was delaying, he would not scruple

(a) This scarcity very probably arose from the want of hands to till the ground, as great numbers must have been carried off by the pestilence that had now raged some years.

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to sound the bell himself; at the vespers he would do the same; and at the complin, or midnight service, his custom was to strike the bell thrice, as was the practice in the monastery. On entering the chapel he would repeat three prayers and the angelic salutations, and not cease his devotion until he made a signal to rise. On all the festivals, and in the mass on Sundays, he caused the service to be sung *cum nota*, that is, with musical correctness, and not by the ear only; and he was highly delighted with the harmony of his choir; insomuch, that he thought no monks in the world could be compared with them.

The poor women in the hospital of St. Pree had been of two sorts, one called *poor sisters*, and the other *nuns*; but so illiterate, that they could neither read nor sing. On this he sent them books and the ordinal, and provided for their necessary instruction, with orders that a poor sister should be promoted to the order and rank of a nun, when duly qualified; and, the service being there performed with more solemnity, it was given in charge to the arch-deacon to superintend their edification and devotion.

Our abbot was appointed president of the general chapter of the Benedictines; and, in that capacity, he summoned the monks and prior of Canterbury; but these men, on pretence of some claims of exemption, treated the messenger with insult and blows, and threw him into prison. It happened that Edward, the prince and heir apparent, was then at Canterbury; and, hearing of this indignity, declared, with some vehemence, that he would set the messenger at liberty (a); and, meeting the prior, disdained any other salutation than to say, *why have you imprisoned the abbot's servant*. The prior readily promised to make recompence (b), and such as his highness should appoint. The prince signified this to our abbot, and the abbot insisted on 100 marcs. This was granted, and the abbot gave the whole sum to the servant.

The prior and convent at Canterbury, submitted to the president, and sent two of their most respectable brethren to the general chapter, to pray excuse for the prior this time. To this chapter came John, duke of Lancaster, with a train of many nobles, and requested the president to treat the monks of Canterbury well, and with good humour, *benè et facetè*. This was promised by the abbot; and the duke took on him the fraternity of Canterbury; and, to the great

(a) Ego deliberabo.

(b) Promissi emendas.

pleasure of those monks, took his seat with them in this chapter. And here, although the abbot gained an advantage, yet the monks of Canterbury afterwards seized an opportunity of obtaining from the king the privilege, that they might not be compelled to attend at the general chapters. In this chapter, fundry constitutions, for the better rule and government of the Benedictines, were framed, for which see the Appendix.

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Edward, although he had set bounds to the acquisition of the monks, and restrained their secular practice of dealing in land, and trafficking with the rich and the devout, carried his thoughts farther, and consulted with our abbot about reforming the internal state of the monasteries; and he assured Thomas, that, if he would go, as president of the general chapter, and view each abbey, he would be able to correct the irregularities of some, and the vicious depravity of others; and that, in such visitation, he should have every possible help from the royal authority. On this, Thomas made a visitation to Eynsham(a), and reformed religion there in a very laudable manner. He then visited Abyndon and Beaulieu, and in these he corrected some abuses, and rooted out some evil habits. With the like mandate from the king, he visited the noble monastery of Reading(b): and here he brought many back to the rule who had wandered far from it; and some of the monks, who had formed conspiracies against the abbot, he caused to be sent away to the cells; he also brought others thence to his own monastery, to undergo some sort of punishment, or penance, until they manifested a penitence.

At the request of the king and the prince, he visited the religious house at Chester; and did this with great courage and spirit, without any fear of the fickleness and wild behaviour of the Welch. Here he deposed the abbot, Richard de Synesbury, who had allowed and cherished great faults, and had let the buildings go to decay, and was in fact a great derider of the rule. He assigned him a competent maintenance out of a farm; and, with the consent of the bishop and of the brethren, he placed another in the office who knew his duty. He visited also, by the king's order, the principal monastery of the whole kingdom, that of St. Edmund de Bury, where he found all quite obedient; and on this he forbore to make a strict visitation, but directed the prior, Henry Bybsteed, to execute what he advised and thought needful. Thomas had borne rule for some years, when he

(a) An abbey near Oxford.

(b) Radyngia.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. conceived an inclination to resign; which was, to renounce all the cares of the world, and to devote his mind to contemplation and devotion. And what gave him encouragement to do so was this circumstance, that he had, as prisoner in this abbey, John, king of France, who had been made captive at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356. The abbot had entertained him at his table, and in a manner that denoted his humanity as well as his courtly style of living (a). This secret wish of Thomas he made known to his royal guest, who applauded the resolution, and promised to write with his own hand to the pope, to obtain his leave. The price of the king's redemption was paid, and he returned home. Three men of this town (St. Alban's) were soon after made prisoners in France, travelling on their way to Rome. Though cast into prison and used with much harshness, they found means to inform the abbot of their condition, who procured a letter from the prince of Wales in favor of these men, and dispatched the same, with a letter from himself, to the king of France. This monarch instantly ordered the men to be set at liberty, saying, 'why doth my brother prince think it needful to intercede for these prisoners, when a word only from such a man as abbot Thomas would have been sufficient:' and he directed the men to return their thanks to the abbot.

Thomas, soon after, wrote his letter of supplication to the pope, and sent it to his friend Richard de Eccleshall, treasurer at Calais, at which place were assembled the king of France, Edward the prince, and many nobles, in order to conclude the treaty of peace between the two realms: and the treasurer was requested to deliver the letter to the king. But the prince, inquiring into the cause, and being informed of the business, forbade any farther proceeding therein; *for, such a man as the abbot could not be spared.*

Complaints were often made to Thomas by the sub-cellarer and his officers, and by the burfar, that the allowance made to the first would not suffice to purchase the daily supply for the tables; and that the second could not keep in repair the houses, buildings, and mills. On which he ordered the rents and profits of Perkfoken (or Parkward) and of East Barnet, to be given, in addition, to those two officers. This was in the 29th year of king Edward; and, some years after, he subtracted from the cellarer, and assigned to the sub-cellarer the pasture of Eyewode, which was worth 10l. a year; rents

(a) Humaniter et curialiter.

in London, also, he assigned to the said officer. The manor of Oxeye, which had been recovered by John de Whitwell, seneschal of the abbot, after it had been lost many years, he assigned to the said office; and also the manor of Wrobbeleye, which had come into the abbot's hands by escheat and forfeiture of Sir Richard Pereres, *militis seu latronis*, are my authors words. He assigned to the cellarer all the chattels of felons and of fugitives, and other accidental profits that should happen in the liberty, without the town, by forfeiture; and these were to be applied in suits and prosecutions; the custody of the gaol, with the charges thereof, belonging, as before, to the office of burfar. And, that the burfar might not complain of these subtractions, the abbot assigned to him the manor of Myrdene, which Thomas had procured of John de Myrdene, for 80l. of lawful money, paid to the said John, and for an annuity of ten marcs, together with a new gown (*cum robâ*), every year during life: and this the said John received, for 28 years, from the burfar. And the burfar was hereupon discharged from the expence of suits, and the payment of fees, and the office of hundreder, and other costs belonging to the hundreder's court. The pasture of the Great Garden had long been the official property of the almoner, on condition of paying 50s. a year to some particular use. But Thomas now discharged the almoner, and assigned this piece of ground, which was commodious *animalibus pascendis*, to the sub-cellarer. The almoner formerly had a mill annexed to his office, called Nichmill, and situate between Sopwell and Jugflane; which mill he used to let for fifty shillings a year; and then the sub-cellarer held it, on condition of giving twelve quarters of corn yearly, called toll corn, of which the almoner was to make a parcel of bread, weekly, for the poor,—and this bread was a sort called Cobbes. But now this mill became useles, by neglecting the water course, and the stream was dry, on which the sub-cellarer was ordered to find the 12 quarters from Stankfield mill.

In this abbot's time there was a moor, or marshy piece of ground, long ago assigned to the almoner, and called Aumenerefnor. This was thought more necessary for the burfar, because it lay near the abbey, and close to the great garden; whereupon it was ordered that the burfar should take this, and give in exchange a small meadow that lay between Sopwellbury and Eyewode, being nearly contiguous to other land of the almoner's. There was also a small garden, where the almoner was bound to find herbs for the monk's kitchen; but, by the connivance of this abbot, the coquinar, or cook of the monks' kitchen,

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Thomas I. the kitchen, got possession, and also of the buildings therein: but the
30th abbot. fruit that grew there remained to the use of the sub-almoner, as it did in the Great Garden.

The tithes of Wynflow, which had always belonged to the almoner, were now assigned to the use of the little society at Redburn; and the tithes of Norton, Newnham, and Sandridge, were taken from the almoner, and assigned to other uses; yet he still supported all the burdens of the office, and discharged all debts and claims thereon.

In 1363 he caused a rule to be drawn, describing the duty of every officer of the abbey, and the portion of income allotted to him for the discharge of the same, which is so intricate and mixed that the whole is unintelligible.

The following is part of it.

The coquinar and charge of the kitchen was	46	8	4
The refectorer - - - was	15	5	10
The camerarius - - - was	59	5	8
The Infirmary's cost, - - - was	12	12	10
	<hr/>		
	133	12	8
	<hr/>		

For what time appears not.

The income of the manors is stated to be -	99	8	9
And the sum total of the annual receipt to be	181	11	9

These were the estates assigned to the kitchen.

And the charge of the kitchen, through the
year, amounted to 255 8 8

The monks were now only 63, and 3 corrodies, yet it was found necessary to augment the allowance to the kitchen in the sum of 26l. 6s. 8d. more.

The office of the refectorer was augmented with 9l. 17s. 4d. The office of almoner was allowed 8l. 6s. 8d. more. In short, a new arrangement of all the expences, necessary in every office, was made at Michaelmas, 1363; in which the defects of some were supplied out of the overplus of others; and provision made for repairs, and other accidental charges. But it is impossible to compute the whole receipt of their rents, &c. at this time, or the whole of their expence.

Yet,

Yet, as all the books whence this history is taken were written in the abbey, some account is come down to us containing the large and general receipt, and the full amount of the expence, as shall be noted hereafter. But here follows the portion allowed to each officer, and whence it arose. Thomas I. the
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COQUINARIUS (*the clerk of the kitchen*) habet temp. Edward III.

Ab Ecclesiâ Sancti Stephani,	-	8	13	4			
De Wyngrave,		16	13	4			
De Sudbury in Epif.							
Norw.	-	4	0	0			
					29	6	8

SACRISTA habet Ecclesiam de Bilend,							
quæ valet,		16	0	0			
Eccl. de Hextonstone,							
quæ valet,	-	8	0	0			
Eccl. de Northall,		5	0	0			
Portionem de Eccl.							
Chesham,	-	0	15	0			
					29	15	0

REFECTORARIUS habet portionem in Eccl.							
de Watford,		8	13	4			
Eccl. de Norton quæ							
valet,	-	6	13	4			
Eccl. de Walden quæ							
valet,	-	10	0	0			
Eccl. de St. Michaelis,		10	0	0			
Eccl. de Holborn quæ							
val.	-	16	13	4			
Eccl. de Potsgrave quæ							
valet,	-	10	13	4			
					62	13	4

CAMERARIUS habet Eccl. de Redburn							
quæ valet,		17	6	8			
Eccl. de Winflow							
quæ valet cum							
Capellâ,	-	18	0	0			
Eccl. de Langtele,		11	6	8			
Eccl. de Turfield,		8	0	0			
					54	13	4
							1N.

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INFIRMARIUS habet Ecclesiam Sancti Petri,
ELEEMOSYNARIUS habet Portionem ex priori

56 0 0

Eccles.	-	-	12	0	0
In Walden,	-		10	0	0
In Middleton,	-		10	0	0
In Eccl. de Brentham,			0	13	4
In Eccl. de Holborne,			1	0	0
de Heilake,					
(Essex),			0	10	0
In Eccl. de Gyrtun					
in Epif. Ely,	-		1	13	4
In Eccl. de Trum-					
ington,	-		3	6	8
In Eccl. de Everfden					
Magnâ,	-		13	6	8
			<hr/>		
			52 10 0		
			<hr/>		

Summa totius, (a) 284 18 4

In the time of this abbot, many of the monks, as if unable to endure the rigour of the order, and the strictness of the discipline, withdrew privately, and incurred the infamy and the sentence of apostacy. These were eight in number; and two others ran away; but, repenting and manifesting a true concern, they were re-admitted and pardoned. The other eight were never heard of, and perhaps

(a) The ancient record whence this is extracted (which is N^o 602 in the Harl. MSS.) is very miscellaneous, and contains notes and memoranda of things and incidents, for near 200 years back, and has,

1st. A steward's account of the manor of Tytburst, for one year, when the same belonged to Margaret, countess of Richmond, in the sixteenth year of her son Henry VII.

2d. Then follows the above account of the sums paid by the churches.

3d. This MS. shews also the lands belonging to St. Peter's church, called *Grangia St. Petri*, and the following, though belonging to St. Peter, were situate in Sandrugge; namely, Whyteleye,—Marshallscroft,—Walemondes feld,—Madys feld,—Bealmonds feld,—Tyle feld,—Gardens croft,—Beche feld,—Jannys feld,—Comyns wood, and many others.

4th. In the 15th of Henry VI. Dionysia, the prioress of the nuns of St. Trinity in the wood, (at Markyate), granted a lease of their whole rectory of Watford to one Henry Wenge, of Watford, for 19l. a year.

In the 9th of Henry VII. the abbot and convent demised, for 21 years, an inn, called the Tabard, for 5l. a year, to one Robert a Lee.

In the time of Henry VI. the abbey possessed, in Chilwick and Annables, 550 acres of land, in different fields, as therein named and specified.

not

not enquired after. Many also ran away from the cells, but they generally came to the abbey; on which the abbot forbade this, and directed them to be conveyed to the place which had been witness to their crime. There were some monks, who, under pretence of consenting to a more rigid life, prayed a licence to depart, promising to enter some other house of this order, or even any other *acrioris religionis*, of a stricter rule. This liberty was granted; Tho. Bansted went to the priory of Bradwell in , John Folygham to the priory of Rochester, Stephen Hertford to the order of the Frier Minors, Robert Aston to the White Monks of Wardon.

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The martial exploits in France made these men very restless at home. Henry Spenser, the military bishop of Norwich, began a kind of Crusade, though not against the Saracens: he gathered men and arms, and collected forces to lead them into Germany and France. And many monks obtained licence to quit their cells, and bear arms. John de Bekendon went from Timmouth, John de Westwick went from Wymundham, Will. York from Bynham, Rog. Bonner from Beaulieu. From Hatfield the prior himself went, William Everidon, who died in Flanders, and William Schepey. The rest returned, and were thankful for quiet health and safety. At this time subsisted the schism in the popedom, and the true pope, Urban, was in such distress and necessity that he sought for supplies and gifts among the faithful in England, and had emissaries here to sell his offices of chaplain for a certain sum. This honor was sought for very earnestly, because it gave the privilege of being exempt from the authority of the bishops and prelates. But Walter Disse, a carmelite and doctor of theology, and confessor to the duke of Lancaster, being now employed by the duke, to collect money and raise men for his expedition into Spain, procured of the pope a licence to sell fifty chaplainships for the use of the duke. This being done, monks of all orders, of the white and of the black, canons regular, rectors of churches and vicars, friers of every mendicant order, sought this honor. Some of the monks of this house were moved by this temptation; and, getting together whatever sum they could, sent the money to Rome by the hands of Disse, to purchase a chaplainship. And here the boon, or grace, sold, was always in proportion to the money given. And some, beside being capellanated, obtained, *ultra gratiam*, a licence to be exempt from their order and rule, and to accept of a church as rectors, if any patron would give them one. Of the monks of this house, who engaged in this spiritual traffic, there were the aforesaid Bekendon

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. and Schepey, and one Bodington, who, being young men, were the more open to the allurements of this temptation; but an aged monk of this house, named Whitchurch, who had lived 50 years in the rule, and been prior of Hatfield and of Wallingford, made a most disgraceful figure, when he was meditating to exchange his meritorious labours for so trifling an advantage. The abbot found that he could by no means retain these men in the profession, but they would be exempt; but the Lord Rhos took Whitchurch to Belvoir, and placed him there among the monks, and paid his charges; and soon after procured for him the cell of Grimsby; and there, as prior, he consented to live in honour and die in peace.

Thomas had ever shewn himself a strenuous defender of the abbey's rights; and, in doing so, had either made or found a number of adversaries. One of these was a famous knight, named Philip de Lymbury, who lived at Luton (a), a man of extreme pride and haughtiness, and of great interest with John duke of Lancaster. This Philip, on Monday, being market-day, in hatred to the abbot, and in utter contempt of religion, seeing John Moot, the cellarer, riding through, in his way from Hexton to the abbey, caused him to be apprehended; and, without any charge, put him in the pillory in the public market. The abbot prosecuted this insolent knight, and would have brought him to make satisfaction, if the duke of Lancaster had not interposed, and, by his authority, brought them to concord. It was agreed that he should make atonement in no other way than by an offering on the altar; at first he was not permitted to approach the altar; then, leave being given, as he stepped forward the blood gushed from his nose, and he retired; he advanced a second time, and his nose again bled; he requested to deposit the offering in a box, but this was not allowed; and after some pause he departed. The memory of this event (says Walsingham, who relates it) struck many with admiration; the number present was very great; and it was considered, among the superstitious, as a vengeance from the martyr; and, by all the sober minded and pious, as an event that should caution bold men against offending God, or those who administer in his worship.

He found also a most troublesome and implacable enemy in a man of lower degree, though of higher malice, one John de Chiltern; who, having been in the confidence and service of the abbot, was

(a) *In Sokâ de Luton.*

capable of more mischief, and of wounding the breast of a friend more deeply. His contest with the abbot began about an arrear of rent for the manor of Langley. The abbot distrained his cattle; John suffered them to perish for want, then harrassed the abbot at law, and fled to Calais, and in due time was outlawed. The abbot had him apprehended and lodged in prison, and offered to take security of his friends, if they would give it. They refused, and went to the king, assuring him that, if he would free John from prison, John would serve his majesty with very great advantage; for, he could raise 1000 pounds for the king on the abbot, for clandestine dealing, &c. The abbot then sued him for another debt of 250 marcs; John denied the debt, for he said the abbot was dead. On this the abbot, on the day of trial, was carried to London, in a litter, and presented himself in person in the Court of Common Pleas. And here, on describing the life and acts of John, and judgement being given against him, he was committed to the Fleet Prison, where he lay the rest of his life, indulging his malice and love of discord against the abbot and all his old neighbours. And, though the abbot sent him even food and raiment, the wretch exercised his wit in stirring up new enemies. For, he stirred up John, the son of William Aynell, to lay claim to many pieces of land, now in the possession of the abbey; and Aynell harrassed the abbot at law. The king's escheator seized them; but the abbot made his title good, and they were all restored, and seizin thereof given. The lands were in the manors of More and of Asheleys, and of Crokeley and Hamelshide, all in Rickmersworth. The plea against the abbot was, that they were held by military service. To which he answered, that he held them *per baroniam* and *de capite*. Many other claims of the like nature were made against this abbot; which was easily done, when the escheator was ready, on any information, to seize the lands; and the proof of a lawful tenure lay on the person disseized. The manor of Caldecot was thus called in question; and then Norton.

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Among the many expensive works which this abbot undertook, one was to abolish a nuisance that had long subsisted, from the inhabitants who lived adjoining to the earth wall which was the abbey's boundary. This wall was no proper defence, and much less a security from trespasses and nuisances; Thomas therefore built, in the room thereof, a good wall of stone. This began from a stone wall, near Wernesgate, which was called Plumtree Wall, and ran along the
south

Thomas I. the 30th abbot. south side of their ground : and then passed up the hill, and round behind the houses, quite to Romeland, and contained in length 30 perches. The foundation of which is to be seen at this day, but most conspicuous on the south and west sides (a).

The insurrection, which happened in the fourth year of Richard II. among the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, (headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, and on which occasion they had marched to London, and set fire to the duke of Lancaster's palace, called the Savoy ; and to the priory of the hospitallers ; and put to death Hales, the prior ; and Sudbury, the archbishop ;) had almost proved the ruin of the monastery ; for, a party of the rebels coming hither, under Straw, one of the leaders, (after having been at the abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and at Cambridge, and in both the places burnt and destroyed the charters and records) they were joined by one Gryncoombe, and one Cadynton, who, arming a number of followers, and marching into the abbey, threatened great mischief, if the abbot did not give them leave to hunt and sport in all the woods adjoining, and to fish in all the waters ; and, in short, give up that renunciation of these claims, which the townsmen had solemnly yielded up, and relinquished in form, under the abbot Wallingford. This Gryncoombe had been in some useful employment under the abbot ; and, being discharged for bad accounts, now lay under a prosecution for money due to the abbot ; but, finding himself supported by an armed crowd, he took up all the popular cries, and demanded liberty. He threatened also to burn down the Grange of St. Peter, and all the buildings at Kingsbury, if he was refused ; and to perpetrate the like mischief here as had been done at London. At this instant came news from London that Wat Tyler was slain ; and a messenger arrived from the king with a proclamation for peace, and promise of indemnity if they would lay down their arms, and a letter of protection to the abbey. Gryncoombe had assembled a vast posse, having summoned the people of Watford, Barnet, Luton, and all the neighbouring vills to aid him ; but these people, hearing the news and the king's offer, promised to abstain from violence, if the abbot would grant their request ; and Gryncoombe, fearing his people would quit him and depart, rushed in to the abbot with some sturdy followers, and extorted from him the privilege hereafter mentioned ; these petitioners standing over

(a) The royal licence for building this was dated 30 Edward III. A. D. 1357.

with drawn swords, until the officers came, and the writ was drawn, signed, and sealed. The tenor of it was, that the abbot granted to the burgesſes of this town paſture for cattle, in the highway, as far as Stone-crouch; thence, in the highway, to Nodſaiſh; in the highway from the town to Mile Aiſh (toward Luton), and in Barnetwode, and in Frythwode, and in Dernwel-lane; in the whole path, or way, that paſſes over by Oiſterhille, as far as Kingſbury; and from Kingſbury to Gonnerſton; and, in the road to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonwode-lane; and in a lane called Bermond-lane, as far the Red Croſs (a); and thence, through the whole way by New-lane; then in Tonmanditch, and in the whole way as far as Gryndeſlane; and as far then as Sopwell-mill; and near this mill in three green ſpots, between Flotegate-ſtream and Myl-ſtream; and thence in a way called Grene-lane, which leads to Fotes-place. ‘We grant alſo,’ ſaith the abbot, ‘one way, for all perſons, paſſing on foot or with an horſe, through Eywod, to Parkſtrate; and another from Parkſtrate, through the tenements of John Eywode and Roger Hulkice, to Staukfield-mill; and one highway from the Red Croſs to Cell Barn (b). We grant them alſo liberty, to hunt, and to fiſh, in all theſe places, and within theſe limits; uſing the liberty to fiſh from the Old Fullyng-mill, cloſe to Eywode, as far as the other Fullyng-mill, under the abbey; and from a place called Siſſeborne, as far as the priory of St. Pree. We alſo will and conſent that they have hand-mills in their houſes or elſewhere, as it ſhall ſeem beſt for them; and this, without any contradiction or detriment to our rights. Given, June the 16th, the 4th year of Richard II.’

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On this ſucceſs, the people of Barnet roſe up with the like bold claims; and the abbot was forced to grant them the like privileges. It is directed to all the abbot’s tenents of the pariſhes of Barnet and South Myms; and confirms all the liberties and rights before allowed them by the King, Richard II. with all their lands, tenements, and free rents, ſo that they may ſell. This grant is atteſted to Sir William Hoo, knt. Henry Frowyc, John Lodewyc, John Durham, William Nonny, &c. The people of Watford and Caiſho alſo demanded a grant, to be relieved from a tax called Ale-penny, levied on their beer; and to be diſcharged from all tolls for pontage, carriage,

(a) Perhaps a ſign to a public houſe.

(b) Horreum de Celle.

Thomas I. the
 50th abbot. murage, passage, and picage; and to be for ever free from all repairs of bridges and of parks. These demands the abbot granted under the seal of the convent.

Rickmereworth also made some claims, viz. for their cattle, &c. and the abbot allowed them free pasture in all the ground between Cowmore and the field called Parsons-field; and free right of fishing in the waters called Pickelsborne; and free common in Burymore and in Bacheworth. They demanded also free common in Heyghmore, Hallemore, and in Battesmore. It seems as if they had been accustomed to have common in the former places; but, being doubtful of the right, they now only sought to have that right clearly allowed; and, as to the pasture in the mores, this was a new demand, and they consented to pay three pence a head, for all cattle there grazed for the season, in lieu of all services and demands.

The people of Tring also demanded a remission of certain tolls, which had been long paid for grazing their cattle, and never before complained of as a grievance: yet, as the abbot was now dispensing his boons, the people claimed a discharge from this toll; and the abbot granted it.

The tenants of Barnet thought they had not asked enough, and demanded of the abbot the book containing the court-rolls, and exhibiting the fines and description of every house, &c. granted to the tenant. They required, in high language, that this book should be burnt: and, to appease them, the abbot promised, which was assured by Henry Frowyc, to comply in three months. These tenants had forged deeds and admissions more to their purpose, and pretended they were framed in the time of the plague, when there was no seneschal, or cellarer, or officer, to inspect these matters. But they could gain no compliance, and the abbot refused them even the sight of the rolls.

The people of Redburn also came to the abbot, to demand a licence to hunt, sport, and fish, in all parts of that manor. The abbot begged time to consider; the tenants had got on their side some of the principal men of the place, as Edmond Cressey, William Eyle, and Thomas Norton. The abbot promised them such a degree of liberty therein as the king had granted him; but it was requisite to deliberate on the matter. The men went home, and gathered a crowd, and proceeded to the mill called Bettespole-mill; threatening to demolish the same, and to level the bank which parts the prior's mead, called Pondesmede, from the king's highway; affirming, that the same had formerly belonged to the commons of that vill,
 and

and had been wrongfully taken from them. They proceeded to level the bank, cut down all the trees, carry them away, and reduce the boundary to level the ground; but did not attempt any mischief against the mill. These people had been encouraged to this degree of insult by the men of St. Albans; who, having imbibed the levelling notions of Wat Tyler and his party, made a boast, that, if the abbot would not gratify them in their request, they would gain the aid of two and thirty villages to assist them. And, in the event, it appeared that they had formed an alliance with all the abbot's tenants in all the manors, to make it a general cause. And the abbot thereupon, in the course of the summer, granted the like charter, or licence, to hunt, hawk, and fish (a), in all the manors; which, by the list, are now twenty in number, and only five of them out of this county. The charter or licence now granted was no other than what king Richard had granted 150 years before, and ran in these words: 'Richard, by the grace of God king of England, &c. to all his bailiffs and faithful servants: know ye, that we have, of our special grace, discharged all and singular our leige subjects of and from all manner of bondage; and granted pardon to all our subjects of all felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extorsions, and outlawry; and, if any such sentence hath been proclaimed, we grant them our peace.' These several tenants, on receiving these grants (which was all that the abbot had promised), were wonderfully elated, and thought themselves acquitted from all service and duty of every kind: and determined, among themselves, to work no more, and to pay no more rent. But, on the death of Tyler, and the execution of a few of the principal, as has been said, they returned to better counsels and other opinions; and remained, by leave of the abbot, in possession of their new privileges of common right, and of hunting, sporting, &c. The young king, after the death of Tyler, thought proper to go, with a large armed force, suddenly got together, and chiefly of horsemen, into Essex and Suffolk; and, hearing of great commotions at the abbey of St. Albans, had an inclination to march thither and suppress the disorders. But a courtier and knight, named William Atte Lee, offered to go down, and try the effects of his persuasions and advice; and, taking with him about fifty bowmen, he approached the town, when Grynecobbe and his associates consulted how to keep him out or to give him battle, and inflict on him either

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(a) De venationibus, aucupationibus, et piscationibus.

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a total overthrow or some severe punishment. Atte Lee, however, advanced, and took post with his bowmen in the field called Derfold; and, assembling the people, he harangued them on the occasion, and on the times, setting forth their mistakes, and the great mercy of the king. More people assembled, and he was heard without interruption. He repaired, at length, to the abbot's chamber, and sent for some of the townsmen, who, on coming, were told by Atte Lee, that they must deliver up those grants, which they had extorted from the abbot. Drawing a huge bloody sword, he swore not a man should ever see his home again, if he refused to comply. On this he hastened out, and locked the door, having charged, privately, some proper guards to keep that post, and succour the abbot, if any violence was offered. Atte Lee then repaired to Derfold with his Body-Guard, and, in very soothing language, asked their advice, what could be done with men who had offended the peace, transgressed the laws, and were preparing to starve the country, by refusing to work. He appealed to the town jury (*duodenum*), whether the ringleaders ought not to be attached, and brought to answer for these enormities, and hoped they would do their duty in declaring who they were. The jury met, and agreed in naming William Grynecobbe, William Cadyn-ton, and John the barber, as the men, who had taken by force the hand-mills out of the abbey's custody. Atte Lee exhorted them to proceed in their duty, and use their authority to keep the peace, and restrain all proceedings that tended to riot, tumult, and rebellion; and to notify to the abbot the names of the offenders. This being done, and sent to the old man, then confined with four or five of the townsmen, he sent word to Atte Lee, that his friends then waiting on him would comply with his injunctions, and that he would take their word for complying. And he instantly sent an order to his four bailiffs (already prepared by Atte Lee) to take into custody the three accused, and convey them to Hertford. This was done in the evening; and, being certified to be so, the abbot permitted his prisoners to take leave. The prisoners were lodged that night in the abbey jail, and next morning they were conveyed away, guarded by Atte Lee and his bowmen, all the gentlemen and principal persons of the town accompanying. And, in the day time, the murmurs and cabals of the town were such as to terrify the abbot, and induce him to send out into the country to the knights and squires, to hold themselves in readiness to succour him, in case the townsmen should proceed to violence.

The

The time of entering on these proceedings had been contrived to coincide with the time of the judges being at Hertford; who, probably, were now acting under a special commission, to punish the mutineers and rebels who had taken part with Tyler. And, as soon as the prisoners arrived at Hertford, they were led into the court, and placed at the bar. The abbot, in the midst of his fears, sends a message to the judge, that he would proceed with lenity, and arguing against a capital punishment. And the judge and prosecutors consented that Grynecobbe should be admitted to bail, and three of his friends bound in 300l. each, to produce him on some future day, if peace was not made with the abbot before. The other two were detained in prison. Grynecobbe had a brother, who could have access to the earl of Warwick; and, by his persuasion, the earl, together with Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, promised to come down and intercede; and it was agreed, by the townsmen, to give up their new charters, and send back the mill-stones. But the earls came not, being forced to go into the north to appease the discontents that had arisen among their own people. On which the townsmen refused compliance. Then the king proclaimed his intention of coming; and the men employed one William Croyser to plead their cause and intercede, and he prevailed on them to comply; on which, but not till the very day of the king's coming, they brought back six of the mill-stones, restored the extorted grants, and gave bond to pay 200l. to the abbot for damages. At length the king came, and was received with great procession and solemnity at the west door; attended with 1000 bowmen and soldiers, and having with him Robert Trysilian (a), the chief justice. Next day the justice assembled the officers and bailiffs at Moot-hall (b), and directed the three offenders (for Grynecobbe had been committed) to be brought; and in due form the jury was charged with them. My author here remarks that this was the first of the dog-days, a season that proved unfortunate to the men of this town. The proceedings here ceased. And Trysilian came again, and caused the jury to be assembled, whom he had before sworn to indict all malefactors and disturbers of the peace. The jury said they knew no such persons, nor could indict any justly; that all had been faithful and obedient to the king, and would continue so. The justice, seeing the tendency of this,

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(a) A man, saith my author, *serpentinae prudentiae*.

(b) The place where the townsmen assembled and consulted.

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30. h abbot.

bade them remember the words they had used when they supplicated the king for pardon, that they were liable to the same punishment, and would be alike malefactors, if they were taken. The jury departed. The justice dissolved the court, and followed them to the place of their consultation. He then drew from his bag a long roll, saying, ‘ Behold here the names of many of your neighbours, ‘ who stand charged with crimes, on the oath of good and faithful ‘ men ; crimes, which are concealed from none. And you think to ‘ delude us all, or to blind us, by your silence. But your designs ‘ never can be effected, when we have ready the names and the facts ‘ of those offenders, whom you would deem honest and innocent. ‘ Do, therefore, what is expedient for yourselves, and undertake to ‘ save your own lives ; and beware, that, while you are singing ‘ safety to your neighbours, you do not raise danger to yourselves.’ They thought then of their situation, and indicted a great number, both of the country and of the town. The judge then directed another jury to be impaneled and sworn ; and, shewing them the names and crimes indicted, asked what they thought, and had to say, of these persons, if they were charged with their trials. Seeing the truth of the accusation, they answered, they would have done and acted in the same manner as the first jury, if they had been charged with them. The judge then preserved this jury to give the verdict, since they had said they were willing to indict for those crimes, and to condemn, whether the first jury would or not. On this comment the judge commanded them, although they might prefer falsehood, to say the truth. The judge then impaneled a third jury ; and, setting aside the first, this third answered as the second had done. So that no one was convicted but on the verdict of thirty-six men, and the verdict was pronounced by the second. It appears not that here was any form of trial, or any witness called for the prosecution, or for the defence ; but the want of evidence was abundantly supplied, if it may be allowed, by the redundancy of jury.

The three offenders were thus convicted, and for a breach of the king’s peace ; and, with fifteen more, sentenced to be hanged. This was put in execution. Five or six of the principal townsmen were committed to prison ; and, from the country, more than eighty ; who were afterwards, by the royal favour, set at liberty. He stayed at the abbey eight days, and departed, in order to go to Berkhamstead, on the 15th of July, in 1382, and thence he went to East-hampstead, in Windsor Forest, for the pleasure of the chase. But,
before

before he left the abbey, he caused all men, from fifteen to sixty years of age, to be summoned and to swear allegiance, &c. About this time the king commissioned John Lodowick, and seven others, to make proclamation in all the towns and places, where thought necessary, in the counties of Herts and Bucks, to this effect: ‘ That all and every person or persons, that ought to do any manner of service or duty to the abbot or convent, whether they were bondmen or free-men, should do and perform the same, in such manner as they had used to do before the late troubles; upon their faith and allegiance to the king, and upon their forfeiture of all they had to lose. And, if any refused to do the same, the commissioner should commit them to prison, until farther order for their punishment.’

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These alarms and troubles being over, the abbot proceeded to adorn this church much more richly than any of his predecessors had done; and expended 4000*l.* in these works. One of which was to cover the west end with new pavements. Though peace was restored, yet these severe examples only sharpened the malice and resentments of the country people; and, at Sandridge, a banner of the insurgents was found, one morning, to be erected at the gate of the Great Farm, or Bury, with a letter suspended; containing a threat, that the house and barns should be all burnt down, unless the sum of 16*l.* was sent and paid at Canterbury, on a certain day. This threat was despised; but, in fact, the same was put in execution, and the great barn, then full of corn, was fired and consumed. At Walden, and at Codicote, also, some buildings, and a mill, were destroyed in like manner; and at Comb’s, in Suffex, some of the houses were burnt to the ground. Two men, together with a woman and a boy, who travelled about the country, were suspected and apprehended; and one of the men, being separated in his confinement from the others, made a confession of the whole; that he was suborned, by one Henry Grynecobbe, a dyer, in London, to do this atrocious mischief, in revenge for the death of his brother. But, after some time, he was dismissed.

The men of the town pleaded, that they had received and enjoyed the above privileges from King Offa; but considered not, that here was no town, or building, in Offa’s time; and they were now told that the 6th abbot was the first who laid out the market, and brought inhabitants to that place; that from the time of Offa to the time of Edgar, VERULAM was the only name (a) known for the town;

(a) This seems to infer that the new town was not distinguished till Edgar was king; as if Verulam had suffered its overthrow about that time.

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that the great pool (*piscaria*) did then extend from the castle of Kyngsbury to the bridge at Holywelle, and farther; that the park, (*Vivarium*,) because it was hurtful to the abbey, had been bought by the 7th abbot, Afric, for a great sum given to king Ethelred; whereupon Alfric, the abbot, drained off the water, and made it dry land; that no future king, or royal visitor, might be tempted to make it a place for his entertainment; that the townsmen began only in the time of Henry III. and abbot Roger to withdraw their grinding and their fulling from the abbot's mills; and that abbot Hugo forbade and resisted these illegal innovations; and that the licence of the times, and the degeneracy of their monks, had been the sole cause of their intemperate and violent behaviour.

My author concludes his account of Thomas de la Mare, by reciting the names of some famous persons, then belonging to the abbey, or who had some connection with it. He bestows much praise on John Moot, the prior, whose prudence and zeal for the honour of the house had ever been conspicuous: and, though he had expended 3000 marcs, yet he furnished the house with great abundance of necessaries and of ornaments. Now also lived Nicolas Radclif, a great opposer of the heretic Wyclif. William de Bynham also refuted many of his opinions, while Wyclif was living; and Simon Surrey reclaimed many from those errors by his preaching; and all the priests, at this time in the abbey, were *sacra pagine professores*. Of those born in the town, who had become famous, he names Sir John Mandevil, who had travelled over all the world, and wrote a book, in French, describing what he had seen.

Among the beneficial acts of this man, the following are recorded of him by *Robert Wood* (a), that he had improved the value of Apulton (b), in Rydal, in Yorkshire, from 20l. a year to upwards of 200. It had long been in the patronage of this church, but it was a meritorious piece of service to advance its worth, and confer it to the uses of the convent. The rectory, or parsonage, of St. Julian, now called the parsonage of St. Stephen, was applied wholly to the private purse of the abbot, and much improved by the management of Moot, then prior. The manor of Wrobbeley (c), which the monks had holden for 20 years, and rented at 171 marcs

(a) In MS. VI. 7. in Ben. Coll. Libr. Cantab.

(b) It is now a small vicarage in the patronage of Sir William Strickland.

(c) Its place is uncertain, unless it be in Ridge parish.

per annum, had paid, by the care of the abbot, 226l. in the whole. Thomas I. the
30th abbot.
 The recovery, or purchase, of Gorham, from the countess of Oxford, for 800 marcs, was reckoned a very fortunate act. A purchase of a moiety of the manor of Norton, in the clay in Yorkshire, for 50l. was much applauded. The manor of Swelsale was purchased for 80l. The manor of Childewickshaye, and likewise a moiety of the manor of Oxheye, was purchased by John Whitewell, the same being contiguous to the abbey's farms, and by him freely bestowed, and rendered not liable to the Mortmain: *debitè amortizata*. In like manner the lands of William Okehurst, with 3 acres of wood in Redburn, were liberally bestowed on this church. And the gifts or purchases (related hereafter) by the benefactors, though made now, were secured by the same caution. The tenements given in Romeland and other places, or exchanged for corrodies, were secured in like manner: they were thought to be valued too dear at the time, considering the pensions, corrodies, and repairs, necessary. But, after all deductions made, and some charge to the king's escheators, they brought a rent of 54l. 15s. 7d.: and the annual value of Gorham was raised 40 marcs and more; and an advance on the manor of Wrobbeley, of 50s. a year, and on other things that fell not into the hands of the escheators.

When this abbot received the temporalities from the king, he made a sort of commutation, and, instead of 1000l. exacted by the former kings, Edward took only 50 marcs. He agreed also with Edward, that, in consideration of a sum paid down, he might hereafter be free from all subsidies, for the monasteries, and all its priories and cells; and he paid down 200l. and 500l. more in the rest of his life. The king committed to his care the collecting of his subsidy throughout his jurisdiction, to the great ease of himself and others. This had been an office and duty generally committed to the hands of the bishops; but no contradiction was offered to this appointment. He procured also, from the court of the pope, that, for the future, no confirmation and journey to Rome might be necessary; but the new-elected might be allowed to receive the benediction from the hands of any bishop in England: and this was granted on a condition to pay to the pope's collector 20 marcs every year; or, on failure, to forfeit the privilege.

This abbot was very munificent in his presents to this church; for, beside procuring a great quantity of vestments, utensils, and ornamental work, for the choir and service, every thing was of the most

Thomas I. the
30 h abbot. } costlly fort, both in the work and in the materials. He procured a picture, painted in Lombardy, to be hung over the great altar, that cost 15l. 10s. 8d. He procured three mitres, that cost 100l. and two of a plainer form that cost only 40s. He caused the choir to be furnished, in the principal seats, with velvet cushions, adorned with the arms of the earls of Warwick and Suffolk. He caused very fine candlesticks to be provided; and censers, and urns for water, of silver. He added many valuable ornaments to the shrine; and a large eagle, of silver, standing on the crest, and gilt, he caused to be re-beautified. The famous clock of abbot Richard had been left by him unfinished; but now, by the industry of Lawrence Stokes, it was completed, together with a dial, and a wheel of fortune; and this work was valued at 1000 marcs. He gave at one time 100 quarters of malt to the refectorar, named Spaldyng; which was worth at least 50l. The great gate was blown down by an high wind, and built again, from its foundation, with its chambers, its prisons, and its vaults, and the roof covered with lead: so that the present gaol (supposed to have been as old as abbot Paul's time) is not older than the time of Richard the second. He built also an house for the copyists, by the industry of Thomas Walsingham, who relates this, and was then the *precentor* and *scriptorarius* (a).

The first great pestilence, that prevailed in 1349, our abbot had escaped, and was now arrived at a good old age of 81, in the year 1389, when another pestilence arose, whose contagion seized him. Yet his constitution held out against it, and he recovered from its virulence; but was affected with ulcers that broke out on his body, and which defied all remedy. And these continued on him for 7 years, and perhaps contributed to prolong his life. But, during this time, though he retained his senses and mental faculties, he suffered a constant waste in his body; and, after this gradual lingering approach of death, he yielded to the fatal stroke, in the year 1396, on the first of September, aged 88.

The great esteem, and universal love, which had been borne towards him, was manifested by the most sincere and general sorrow for his death. And, indeed, as no man had lived with more utility and benefit unto others, so no man could die more lamented. All due preparations were made for his funeral: his body was habited in the best and richest vestments, when laid in the coffin, with the

pastoral staff under his right arm, and a mitre under the left. In this state did he lie for some days; and it was observed that his countenance recovered all the fresh colour and manly features of his earlier age; and exhibited much of that benign aspect, which he had ever worn in his former and best days. This encomium cannot be imputed to the partiality which all men bore to the deceased; for, it is a fact that is frequently observed in these days. Thomas Walsingham says he was present at those last scenes of the abbot's death and burial; and adds that we ought to consider this circumstance with a pious attention, as holding forth to us a kind of earnest and promise of the future renovation which mortal bodies are capable of, and shall one day be made to undergo.

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30.h abbot.

Our curiosity cannot fail to be excited, to learn where this famous man was interred; but our inquiry must suffer a painful disappointment; for, the MS. (a), which contains this relation, hath undergone a mutilation, and three leaves have been cut out and lost; which probably set forth many other particulars, relating to his latter end. The last abbot, Michael Mentmore, had been buried, as appears by Weaver (b), in the presbytery, near the two former abbots; but the place of this abbot's grave can only be guessed; though, in the life of Wheathampstead, it would seem that he was buried near the altar.

In levying the taxes and aids to the king, the bishops had always been employed to assess the same on all the ecclesiastics' property; as well that of the monasteries and regulars as that of the dioceses and seculars. And for this reason: in every assessment, made in this reign, wherein the aids were frequent and the demands great, very precise care was taken to keep and maintain the privilege of exemption; for, the bishops of Lincoln had ever kept up a sort of claim; and, in these assessments, they extended these claims to every place within their diocese; but it became a point of agreement at last, that the exemption should reach only to such property as the abbey did possess at the day when the exemption was granted, by pope Hadrian, in the time of Henry I. and that every acquisition since should be liable to the aids payable to the king, and assessable by the bishop: therefore, in the *computus* (c), at the end of de la Mare's life, the sum of property stands thus: The goods of the abbot, within the jurisdiction exempt, (and taxed by himself) were

12 marcs.

(a) In Lib. Ben. Coll.

(b) 559, where is his epitaph.

(c) Cott. MS. Claud. E. 4.

Thomas I. the
3rd abbot.

	l.	s.	d.
But in the whole diocese of Lincoln, -	405	4	0
The value of the coquinar's goods in the jurisdiction, -	47	7	7
----- without the jurisdiction, -	36	14	2
The coquinar had also some small pensions from some of the churches.			
The sacrist had some goods in the jurisdiction, valued at - - - - -	40	14	1
----- out of the jurisdiction, -	0	15	0
The rector had within the jurisdiction to the value of - - - - -	65	9	11
----- without the same -	22	6	8
The camerarius had, within the jurisdiction, -	68	15	9
----- without, - - - - -	8	5	1
The sub-rector had, within the jurisdiction, -	2	6	8
The infirmarius had, within the jurisdiction, -	72	18	1
The almoner had within the jurisdiction, -	18	4	9
----- without the jurisdiction, -	6	6	4
The sub-almoner had, within the jurisdiction, -	0	13	4
	390	17	5

The churches in the gift of the abbot were taxed at the following valuation, and lay within the jurisdiction.

Vicarage of St. Peter's, at 5l. and aid, (viz. a tenth) was 0 10 0

Rectory of Barnet, at 10 marcs.

----- Bushey, at 14 marcs.

Portion of the prioress of Markyate, arising in

Watford, - - - - - 16 marcs.

Vicarage of Watford, - - - - - 7 marcs.

Prioress of Markyate, for a portion arising in the church of Bushey, - - - - - 20 shillings.

Prior of Wallingford, in the church of Shephall, 8 marcs.

St. Julian's hospital, at - - - - - 5 pounds.

The value of all the goods belonging to the abbot, within the jurisdiction, was - - - - - 315 19 11

Belonging to all the officers, or *obedientiarii*, within the jurisdiction, was, - - - - - 324 5 3

----- of the clergy within the jurisdiction, - - - - - 49 0 0

The value of the whole within the jurisdiction, 689 5 2

The

The value of the whole without the jurisdiction,
but in the dioceſe of Lincoln, was -

l. s. d.
163 11 4

Thomas I the
30

And the value of the whole (as well of the abbot
and convent as of the clergy) within the dioceſe
of Lincoln, - - - -

852 16 6

In the dioceſe of Norwich the property of the abbot
and church was valued at - -

15 15 5

In London, without the city, at -

9 13 10

----- within the city, viz. in St. Alban,

Wood ſtreet; and in St. Alphage pariſh; St.

Mildred de Walbroke; and other pariſhes;

18 10 10

In the dioceſe of Chicheſter, in Grene Stede, -

2 0 0

----- Ely, to the value of -

24 3 6

----- York, to the value of -

19 3 4

----- Durham, from Gonſclyff, -

25 0 0

The ſum of the whole income, 967 3 5

Rents due to the abbot, and ariſing from eſtates
in the town.

By rents, of fairs, markets, view of Frankpledge,
mills, cartilages, and other caſuals, -

44 0 4

In Sandrugge by land rents, mills, view of Frank-
pledge, and other perquiſites, -

12 15 4

From Hexton, the manor yielded yearly, -

10 10 0

By a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,

1 0 10

From Newnham by rents, and ſervices of the
bondmen, or copyholders, and by the court, -

4 10 3

----- by a farm there, appropriated to the refec-
tory, - - - -

2 0 0

From the manor of Norton, worth yearly, -

10 15 4

From a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,

2 0 2

From Bradeweze, in lands and meadows, -

5 8 4

-----, from a farm there, appropriated to
the kitchen, - - - -

1 0 0

From Walden, (now Paul's) by land rents, mills,
ſees or court, ſervices of copyhold, profits of
cattle, and other caſuals, - -

12 9 8

Forward, 106 10 3

From

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	106	10	3
From Walden, by the farm there belonging to the kitchen, - - -	4	7	8
From Codicote, by rents, and divers other things, - - -	14	15	4
----- by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	3	0	0
From Parkbury, by rents, and other profits, - - -	23	6	9
----- by the profits of cattle, - - -	0	12	8
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	11	10	0
From Tytinghangre, in rents, and other matters, - - -	5	13	9
----- by the profits of cattle there, - - -	0	15	3
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	4	12	0
From Barnet, by land-rents, underwoods, (<i>sylvis cædis</i>), - - -	13	2	4
----- by another rent there, - - -	2	0	0
From Northawe, by rents, and fall of underwood, - - -	2	9	10
----- by the profits of cattle, &c. - - -	1	12	0
----- by another rent there, - - -	1	10	0
From Borham, by land-rents, and divers other matters, - - -	1	2	6
From Wynflow, in land-rents, and divers other matters, - - -	23	6	0
----- by the profits of cattle, - - -	2	18	4
From Caisho and Watford, by land-rents, and other matters, - - -	26	9	8
----- by the profits of cattle, &c. - - -	1	12	8
----- by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	6	12	0
From Rickmersworth, by land-rents, and other matters, - - -	6	19	9
----- by the profits of cattle, - - -	1	7	0
----- by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	9	18	0
From Saret, by land-rents, and divers other matters, - - -	3	6	0
From Crokefle, by land-rents, and other matters, - - -	5	7	0
----- by profit of cattle, - - -	0	15	0
From Oxeie, by land-rents, and other matters, - - -	5	11	8
From the manor of Pynesfeild, - - -	2	7	0
From Langley (abbot's) in land rent and other matters, - - -	8	10	0
By the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	9	18	0

In all, 311 18 5
These

These were the sums assessed to every aid that was laid on their Thomas I. the
 movables; and the tenth, which was a general tax, amounted to 30th abbot.
 31l. 12s. 0d. But, out of this sum assessed, the abbot had 115l. 15s.
 1d. the burfar had a like sum; and the remainder, viz. 80l. 8s. 3d.
 went to the sub-cellarer; and the tax was paid by each in proportion.

The above rents were paid by estates within the jurisdiction, that
 was exempt from Lincoln. But, from churches beyond the exemption
 and extra, the abbot received

From the church of Layton,	-	66	13	4	or 100 marcs.
————— Dolowe,	-	7	3	1	
————— Branfeld,	-	10	15	4	
————— Aldenham,	-	0	4	0	
————— Sonyngg,	-	2	9	8	
————— Biscote,	-	0	6	8	
————— Mildelton Caynes,	1	2	0		
		<hr/>			
		88	14	1	

The abbot had also, from the church of Newnham, 10 marcs;
 and from the church of Redburn, 26s. 8d. equal to 8l. making, in
 all, 96l. 14s. 1d. Out of which the burfar paid the tenth to the aid.

The churches to which the abbot now collated were as follows:

The rectory of Barnet, taxed at 10 marcs.

Idelestrie, taxed at 3 marcs.

St. Julian's (St. Stephen) taxed at 5l.

Brantfield.

Letchworth.

Walington, Kymbel Parva.

Stanmore.

St. Peter's in the Chepe, London.

St. Michael in Hog-lane.

The vicarage of St. Peter's in St. Alban's town, taxed at 5l.

Sandruigg, formerly a chapel.

St. Peter's. taxed at 5 marcs.

de la Rugge (formerly a chapel of St. Peter's),
 taxed at 3 marcs.

St. Stephen's, taxed at 13 marcs.

St. Michael, taxed at 4 marcs.

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The vicarage of Watford, taxed at 7 marcs.

Walden, no value.

Norton, no value put down.

Newenham, taxed at 20 shillings.

Rykemerfworth, taxed at 5 marcs.

Hexstanton, taxed at 3 marcs.

Northawe, formerly a chapel of St. Peter's, taxed at 5 pounds.

Redburne, taxed at 4 marcs.

Wynflow, taxed at 5 marcs.

Greneburgh, taxed at 4 marcs.

Aston, formerly a chapel of Wynflow, taxed at 5 marcs.

Horewode, formerly a chapel of Wynflow, taxed 3 marcs.

Langley, no tax set down.

Saret, no tax set down.

Luyton, taxed at 100 marcs.

Houghton, no tax set down.

Potgrave, no tax set down.

Caldecot, no tax set down.

Tirfilde, no tax set down.

Wyngrave, no tax set down.

Everidon Mag. no tax set down.

Appelton, in the diocese of Ely, no tax set down.

Sudbury, in the diocese of London, no tax set down.

In all, 9 rectories and 28 vicarages. Each and every of these vicarages was appropriated to one of the great officers of the abbey, who was bound to serve the church, and to apply the remainder of the dues to the discharge of his office. Each church also paid procuration to the arch-deacon, and 6 pence for synodals.

The prudence and œconomy of abbot Thomas had manifested itself in the good management and increase of his revenues; but his munificence was more displayed in the great abundance of costly habits, rich vestments, gold cups, silver basons and ewers, gilded candlesticks, crosses set with precious stones, and other splendid articles, with which the church, the refectory, and the altar, were furnished. There were 4 texts, or books, of the Latin Bible, very much

much enriched with gilding and figures embossed in gold. There were 8 or 9 very splendid crosses, of different metal, and different value, and borne on different days of procession; but one had been the gift of Edward of Carnarvon, and was rich in jewels. There were two candlesticks of solid silver, and two of brass gilt for daily use; and 8 of iron, for show. Vessels for burning incense, of silver, and with silver chains; and others of copper (*de cupro*). Basons of silver, with holy images in the bottom, and on the rim, or margin, of weight equal to 40s. (or 10l. of silver now.) Cups of all sizes, curiously wrought, of silver and of gold, and of divers value; some for use, and many for show. And, as every chapel had an altar, so every altar was set out with rich vials and patines, for the bread and wine. The pontific habits were beyond number; with mitres, pastoral staffs, rich sandals, zones, rings set with sapphires; the gifts of great benefactors; precious stones of all sorts, altar-cloths, stools of velvet, &c. for the choir; divers pieces of tapestry, cushions of silk, with gold fringe (*aurifrigiis*). The vestments, consisting of copes, chasubles, pectorals, and sundry others, were not only as rich and splendid as art could prepare or money could purchase; but they were so numerous, that the abbot and officers (who alone were allowed to appear in them) could not bring them all into use, though they changed their attire every day (a).

Thomas I. the
30th abbot.

06.1396

JOHN MOOTE (b).

The last abbot died on the 15th of September, 1396; and the prior and convent, in chapter, appointed the 9th of October for elect- John V. the
31st abbot.

(a) Cotton MS. Claud. E. 4.

(b) The history of this abbot is extracted, chiefly, from a fine MS. in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, called *Supplementum Aureæ Hist. J. de Tinmouth ex cænobia St. Albani, id est, pars majoris Hist. Thom. Walsingham*, book VII. It is said to be left imperfect by William Wynteshall, and continued by Robert Ware.

John V. the 31st abbot. ing a successor, having procured the king's licence, dated September 18th, for this purpose. The following persons appeared in the chapter-house on that day ; namely,

- John de la Moote, *prior*.
 Nicolas Radcliffe, *arch-deacon*.
 Simon Sothery, *prior of Bealvoir, and S. T. P.*
 Robert Heron.
5. Adam Redburne.
 Robert Wittele, *sub-prior*.
 John Graveley, *sub-refectorar*.
 John Mouston, *prior of Hatfield*.
 William Wynflowe, *prior of Hertford*.
10. William Wylum, *prior of Redburn*.
 Peter Mevaunt.
 Robert Theslayn.
 William London, *secundus scrutator*.
 Robert Trunche.
15. Richard Beaver, *precentor*.
 Thomas Walsingham, *prior of Wymundham*.
 William Trent.
 Adam Houghton, *burfar* (a).
 John Beaver.
20. William Wyndrug, *primus scrutator*.
 John Wathampstede, *prior of Tynmouth*.
 Robert Stikford, *third prior*.
 Roger Hevered, *sacrist*.
 William Westwyk, *camerarius*.
25. Richard Mousted.
 Nicolas Trecey.
 John Warram, *prior of Beaulieu*.
 Thomas Welles, *succentor*.
 Thomas Houghton, *sub-sacrist*.
30. William Wynteshall.
 Robert Botheby, *cellerarius*.
 Alexander Bone.

(a) *Burfar* is a word of mercantile import, and was taken from the trading world. It implied, here, a man who bought and sold, and exchanged, commodities : and it was the business of the burfar to buy up great quantities of grain, and sell out the same in a dear time ; and thus not only gain a profit to the monastery, but have at all times a good supply at hand ; and this was the use of so many granges and offices.

Thomas

Thomas Reynesforde, *coquinarius*.
 Nicolas Dry.

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35. Henry Wylum, *tertius scrutator*.
 Edmund Stukey.
 Richard Messendene, *sub-celler*.
 Robert Stoke, *prior of Bynham*.
 Roger Welburne.

40. Nicolas Grantham.
 John Blebury.
 John Burk.
 John Heyworth.
 Nicolas Tyttington.

45. Hugo Wathamstede.
 William Alvewyck.
 Michael Theyne.
 Richard Olyve.
 William Beaver.

50. John Tehylton.
 William Heyworth.
 Robert Ware.
 Symon Wyndeshore.
 Richard Ryche.

55. Thomas Barkford.
 John More.
 William Dunstaple.
 Henry Rikempsworth.
 John Petham.

60. John Hatfeld.

William Bynham, the prior of Wallingford, was hindered from coming by extreme weakness of body; and Richard Storpelle was languishing in the infirmary; but they were allowed to vote by proxy. The chapter was attended by a notary public, from London and of the diocese of London, named Ralph Gardener, whose office it was to stand at the door of the chapter-house, and, with a loud voice, make proclamation for all persons, who had a right to vote, to give their attendance. Then was read in public the king's letter of licence; and the notary farther proclaimed, that, if any person was present, not having a lawful vote, he should depart, otherwise be excommunicated, and lie under suspension and inhibition. Then was read, by one Thomas Tombe, the junior bachelor

John V. the
31st abbot.

of arts, from the university, a constitution of some general council concerning elections; and, this being done, the chapter unanimously elected John de la Moote. Immediately the whole assembly began to sing the hymn of Te Deum, and conducted John to the great altar; and, there standing, he was informed, and proclamation made, by Symon Sothery, that he was elected abbot. Then the instrument of election, to be carried to Rome for confirmation, was prepared, and attested by the notaries (who were three or four more, beside Gardener and Tombe), and divers other witnesses; and the seal of the abbey was affixed.

Another account says, that Moote was known to the king (Richard II.), and in great favour with him; and that this election passed without any notice of the vacancy, or opportunity given for the king's officers to take possession of the temporalities, the monks having procured letters from the papal agent here in England, and concluded the election in haste. The king knew that the pope's legate would grant leave to elect, and that the usual practice was to obtain such leave by paying to the pope's collector the yearly sum of twenty marcs. The omission of asking leave of the king, though in ceremony, he might have deemed an affront; but, in favour to Moote, he granted him a charter confirming the said bull, or apostolic letters, and allowed him to pay the twenty marcs yearly; yet, on condition, that, for the future, the convent should certify under their seal every vacancy, whenever it should happen, and pray leave of HIM to choose a new abbot.

It is probable that John did not make the accustomed journey to Rome for confirmation, as the same is not mentioned, and as it is recorded, among the beneficial acts of his predecessor, that he obtained, from the court of Rome, in consideration of a certain yearly pension, permission for the new-elected to receive the benediction from the hands of any bishop in England. He obtained certain bulls in favour of the abbey. One was to gain a discharge of paying twenty marcs a year to the pope's collector; another was to be excused shewing and exhibiting all their deeds and muniments at the visitation of the ordinary; a practice they had been used and compelled to observe, but from which they were now to be freed, provided they could shew forty years quiet and undisturbed possession, and this to be proved on the testimony of good and credible witnesses. He obtained another bull, conferring a right of conservancy, that is, a privilege of keeping and retaining, without alienation, the lands, and goods, and property, thereon; and this privilege to be permanent and unchangeable to the abbey and all its cells. The reason of this new power was, that the abbey had
suffered

suffered frequent losses in all their goods, by the rapacity of the civil power; and this recourse to Rome was the best and only barrier they could procure, against its arbitrary exercise. He obtained a bull concerning the order of Acolyths (a); to wit, that they should be chosen only from the monks. This order was of the most inferior degree of all who bore office in the service of the church, and consisted of servants only, who followed the bishop or abbot, and bore his train; and who, at other times, attended the wax-lights and lamps in the choir. He procured also another bull, allowing young monks, and the professed, to be admitted into holy orders as soon as they attained the age of twenty one years.

John V. the
31st abbot.

For these bulls and privileges he paid to his proctor at the Roman Court, named master John Fraunceys, the sum of 48l. 6s. 8d. And it was found that more was due, which had been left unpaid by the last abbot, to the amount of 78l. 6s. 8d.

These were times when the ill government of king Richard II. was likely to throw the kingdom into great civil convulsions. A writ of array was issued, commanding the military aid to be called forth. And the custom was, that the writ, requiring the aid of the clergy, was directed to the bishops; but the abbot had the address to procure the writ, for the jurisdiction of the church of St. Alban, to be directed to the vicar of Watford, whom he had constituted his military commissary. And this prudential step was taken, to prevent the bishop of Lincoln from employing any jurisdiction, or authority, or making pretensions to the same, over this church and its possessions.

The abbot requested the arch-bishop to celebrate an ordination at the church as oft as was necessary; and this was done. He established and built a church at Barnet, where had been no place of worship before (b). He also dedicated, with great solemnity, many other altars, then called portable altars. And this was a practice often used, of carrying an altar from a cathedral or conventual church, and setting it up in some lonely or unprovided place; and there the pious resorted, and paid their devotions; and this laid the foundation of many churches, or chapels, in parts remote from the parish-church, or other places, where worship had been established.

In the third year of this abbot's time, the body of John, duke of Lancaster, lately deceased, was conveyed to this town, in its way to London. The corpse, it was necessary, should be reposed in the abbey; and it was already brought to the great west door; and no-

(a) From *Ακόλυθῶν*, sequor.

(b) The builder's name (Beauchamp) is recorded on a flat stone in the pavement.

John V. the
3rd abbot. tice was given to the abbot, that the bishop of Lincoln (then Henry Beaufort, son of the deceased by Catharine Swinford) would perform the exequies, and appear in person. The abbot, as if foreseeing this event, and now being dreadfully afraid of the claims of Lincoln, had procured a letter from the king, directed to the said bishop, to this effect: ‘ That the bishop, by his access to the monastery or behaviour therein, would not do any thing to derogate, or injure, the rights and privilege of that place, of which he (the king) and his royal progenitors had been the founders. And, if he should obtain leave to do any thing in the monastery, that he would give a special letter of indemnification to the monks.’ This letter the abbot sent, by the prior, to the bishop, who was then waiting in the priory at Dunstable, accompanied by his mother: but the answer was this: ‘ That, in reverence to the royal letters, he would not prejudice the privileges, but regard them as he would his own.’ From this ambiguous answer Moote knew not how to proceed, and wanted more sound counsel; and sent back, ‘ that he could not admit the bishop to any kind of entertainment, or even to enter within the walls.’ The bishop intreated the abbot to restore their former friendship, and to cease from any cause of discord. The abbot, in great perplexity, and in fear of mischief from the attendants on the corpse, still at the door, and from the crowd that surrounded it, changed his resolution, by the advice of the bishop of London, then and there present with him; who instantly pledged himself to seal letters of indemnity. But, not having any seal of Lincoln, he affixed the seal of London; and the corpse and train were admitted into the church. The bishop accompanied the coffin to the stall, or seat of the abbot, where it was reposed; and the bishop was seen, standing near it. The abbot took his place in the opposite stall, dressed in his full attire, and standing. A suffragan of the bishop of Lincoln occupied the middle of the choir, and directed the singing. On the morrow, the bishop of London, together with the abbot and the suffragan, performed a solemn mass, standing near the great altar. The altar was also set forth with all the rich garments, and decorations, both of gold and precious stones, that had ever been provided for it; together with some rich carpets and coverings, which the deceased duke had formerly given. And, the next day, the funeral proceeded for London, the whole convent attending it as far as Barnet.

The bishop of Lincoln, for the present, returned thanks to the abbot and monks, for the honour shewn to his father’s corpse; but,
I when

when his elder brother, now earl of Derby, was crowned king, this bishop tried to injure the abbey and the cells in some of their privileges. However, at present the abbot received the bishop, after the corpse had departed, and gave him sumptuous entertainment in the grand chamber; and they parted with great professions of good will, and with an exchange of some very costly rings, set with precious stones.

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31st abbot.

In his time, the rectory of St. Julian, (as it was then called,) which had been leased to William Burcot, reverted, by the gift of the said Burcot, and was applied to the use of the prior, with a certain annual portion to Burcot. Moote had applied himself, for twenty years, to the care and labours of his office of cellarer; and he had constructed a beautiful chamber for the abbot, contiguous to the wing of the church; and spent thereon 600 marcs or more. He built also another chamber, or lodge, for the seneschal, between the house of the almoner and the gate which leadeth to the stable. In the city of London, the abbot's house had gone to decay; but this, together with its offices, and all its appurtenances, he completely rebuilt.

On the manor of Parkbury he renewed all the buildings except one house. On the manor of Tytenhangre he built two farm-houses (*Grangia*), with proper offices, from a hay-barn to an ox-house(a). He planned also a mansion-house for himself and family; but, being prevented by death, he scarce completed one half of it. On the manor of Langley he built one grange, and repaired all the other houses; and gave twenty marcs towards repairing the grange at Rickmersworth, then taken by a farmer, named Robert de Pantry. At Caytho he built one ox-house; and repaired all the other houses as far as was necessary. At Sandridge he built a house with a new gateway, and a stable fit for horses and cattle at grass. He also built mills at Codicote and at Sandridge, with such offices as were necessary for the cellarer and his deputy. It is to be understood that most of these lands and manors were in hand; and there they fed oxen, and provided the meat, and flour, and corn, for the consumption of the monastery. He rebuilt two parts of the cloister, with the closets, and library, and chapel of St. Nicolas; and, over the arch of that cloister, he prepared a place for books; and, under the vault of the chapel of St. Nicolas, he intended to have made an *almariola*, or place to secure their deeds and muniments. He repaired and improved many

(a) A grangia fæni usque ad bovariam.

John V. the parts of the house ; and caused a vast reservoir, or vault, to be made
 31st abbt. near the kitchen, to receive and hold the rain-water for the use of
 the offices. He improved the garden (a); built therein a new pigeon-
 house ; and constructed a covered way, for the more convenient
 walking in wet weather.

The manor of Napsbury had been long applied to the use of the kitchen, but was now gone to utter decay. This was rebuilt by our abbot. The manor of Aston, now ruined both in its timber and its stone work, he covered anew ; and erected three sheepcotes there. The manor of Shephall had been let to one Robert Broome, a great man near it, for the term of his life, and for a small rent. But, he not performing the terms, Moote caused him to give it up ; and, with some new buildings, made it a good farm for sheep, as the name imports. The manor of Eastwell, in Kent, gone to ruin and decay, he built anew. The grange in the manor of Tombes, in Suffex, he transferred, or recovered, from the prior of Michenham, and repaired the buildings.

The Grange of St. Peter's had been long ago deputed, or set apart, for the infirmary ; and here he built an excellent farm-house, with a cow-house, stables, and pigeon-house, also a kitchen and bake-house : the hall and other offices he repaired. He inclosed the whole with a strong wall of earth, and with a deep ditch, including the grove adjoining. In the walls, he made gates in the front, and posterns in the back, for the safety and pleasure of those who should dwell in the same. He built also (to return to the monastery) a chimney in the dormitory, to warm the poor inhabitants of that mansion ; and added two windows, for the better airing of the place.

The manor of Childwick had been long ago set apart for the office of the refectory ; and here he found it needful to build a grange, and repair all the houses and offices adjoining. At Walden, which had been a place over-run with bushes and briers, and which he caused to be reclaimed to fertile land, and levelled fit for use, he built a barn and a small dwelling for a bailiff ; and inclosed this with a wall of earth and a ditch.

(a) He inclosed this with a strong wall, made of earth, and covered with tiles or slate ; but, on one part, it was bounded with a broad and deep pool, called the prior's pond.

At the rectory of Houghton he built a good grange, on a foundation of stone; and inclosed the same with a strong wall of timber and earth, well tiled, and covered with slate or stone (a). John V. the 3rd abbot.

In the manor of Kingsbury he built a new barn, and repaired all the offices; and inclosed the whole with an earth-wall and a ditch. This manor had been set apart for the office of the under-refectory; but, by his persuasion, it was now given up to the use of his principal, and gave great help and supply to that office; for, he now augmented his stock of napkins (b), towels, and table-cloths; and added, to the plate and Myrrhine glasses, others, mounted in silver and gold, having sold some vessels and bought larger and better: out of the old saltfellers he had made twelve new ones; and, with the old spoons, he had obtained seven dozen of new, of better weight and form.

The grange and mansion in the manor of Redburn he repaired with good stone-walls, well secured with freestone. At Wynslowe, also, the grange, for gathering and laying up the tithes, was repaired. These had been demised to one Edward Martin for an annual rent of 12s. 8d. but now were redeemed for 18 marcs; and, by the repairs, the same could be let for a better rent, or sold. He rebuilt, from the foundations, the chancels of the parish-churches of Sandridge and Grenebury; and repaired with a new roof that of Norton. He was supposed to have expended, in all these works, at least 2000l. yet the poverty of the house was relieved, and the sum of the rents and profits almost doubled. The mansion at Oxford, for the young scholars, was in a ruinous condition, and too small and incommodious for the number which he wished there to maintain. On this, the abbot bought, of the abbot of Malmesbury, some ground adjoining, and made additions to the college.

In the second year of his rule, he was deputed to visit all the Benedictine monasteries in the province; but he declined it, and appointed Symon Sothery to perform this visitation; and, at the same time, employed him to visit all the cells of this abbey.

Tytenhangre (c) had been a place of resort for many of the preceding abbots, although it had only a mean farm-house for their

(a) Tiles and bricks of clay, and burnt, were invented about 1440, and not earlier.

(b) Naperia.

(c) This name (of Tytenhangre) is of unknown antiquity, but denotes hides of land. There are many places ending in hangre; as, Panshangre, in this county; Bettshangre, in Kent; Goldangre, in Essex; and Shelfangre, in Norfolk. And Angre ever signifies a gravelly soil.

John V. the
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accommodation; but, as it afforded plenty of water, and was a fertile soil, and blessed with good air and most delightful prospects, this induced Moote to make it a more convenient and useful dwelling; and he expended herein, though the work was not half finished at his death, the sum of 360l. 5s. 6d. beside carriage and victuals to the workmen. The building of this mansion gave rise to divers opinions: some objected to it and said, it would be so pleasant as to attract the notice of the king or some great lord, and it might be difficult to deny them in any request concerning it; and, if it fell into such hands, they would only become a burden to the abbey and its tenants: others said, it would draw away the abbot and many of the brethren from the monastery, and prove injurious to the hospitality and the alms-giving there observed; that the cells and other estates afforded better and more commodious places for the abode of a small family, if the abbot chose to retire from his duty in the abbey; that here the repose of the abbot would be much interrupted, and his quiet disturbed, by reason of its being contiguous to the London road, on which account he would be obliged to receive visitors, and could not be excused; and that he must send to the abbey for provisions, &c. necessary to entertain them. The good abbot could not escape the blame and obloquy of all who disliked the scheme, or envied him; but this made him only more diligent in promoting the work, to which he gave all possible attendance, with every exertion to quicken the workmen; and absented himself so much from the monastery, that the usual hospitality and charity suffered some diminution. He entertained also such a multitude of hirelings, and exacted from the tenants and dependents so much labour and carriage, that they complained of the hindrance and loss to their farms. But he cared not, so he could gratify his own taste and inclination. However, the work was deemed unlucky; not only because it brought much vexation on those employed, but also brought the abbot to his end. The cattle fell sick of a murrain, and dearth of corn followed, and a great scarcity of victuals: this was a general calamity, owing to a bad season or very wet summer, and there was scarce a sufficiency of corn and malt for the use of the monastery. All these misfortunes, in the minds of some men, were imputed to the abbot; and more especially as he was much altered in his behaviour, and frowned on his old friends, while they saw him carefs and smile on his foes. At the end of this summer, the fourth of his elevation, on the day of

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All Saints, and after the solemnity of the mass, he was seized with a dreadful pain, and lost the use of his hands. The physical persons were sent for, and they pronounced, from his difficulty of respiration and extreme pain in his side, that this disorder was a pleurisy, and that he could not live long. This happened at Tytenhangre; and, as soon as it was known in the abbey, the prior and elders consulted whether it was not advisable to bring him to his lodgings. This was determined: and William Wynteshall, his confessor and principal chaplain, fearing his death to be hastening, repaired to him at three in the morning, and addressed him in these words: ‘ The physicians have certain signs of your approaching death, and that you will soon be deprived both of reason and of memory; therefore, I require you to attend to the salvation of your soul, while any vigor remains; then, and next, make restitution, if you have defrauded any person; (*si quid subtrahum habeas*;) and lastly, signify your will and pleasure in matters depending between you and our brethren.’ The abbot, as usual in such cases, and as he had been accustomed, went into a clear and ready confession, and added many firm promises of amendment. He then besought his confessor, that, by virtue of that grace which had been granted him by the pope, he would pardon him in all his transgressions and deviations, and that he would administer to him the reviving helps of the Lord’s body. This was performed, and he was borne next day on a couch, or litter, to the abbey; where, after languishing three days, he requested the extreme unction: which being performed in the presence of the prior and fourteen brethren, as was usual, he breathed his last.

He had explained his mind, at well as he could, to his confessor, in all temporal matters, requesting that the manor of Bacheworth, lately recovered by his diligence, might be affixed to the office of treasurer. Concerning the manor of Gorham, lately acquired, he would make no disposition, but left to his confessor to explain to the succeeding abbot what his will was in relation to the same. He ordered that, as he had borrowed of the prioress and nuns of Sopwell forty pounds, the same might be restored, or satisfaction made them in a better supply of victuals, &c. He was buried, as he had desired, at midnight; but not until the fifteenth day after his decease; and then, with a very small concourse of people, and without any solemnity or cost, or indeed grief; being, when living, little honoured or beloved: no show of black, except a coat of russet, given to each torch-bearer, and they were twelve in number.

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He died on St. Martin's day, in 1400, and in the beginning of the fifth year of his preferment. He left the house much indebted; and the furniture, goods, and chattels, on the lands, much diminished. But this was unavoidable, in such times of confusion and military troubles, during the intestine wars; in which he often lost money; and often gave more (though without any good effect, yet) to avoid rapine and plunder. He had expended, on the obsequies of his predecessor, 76l. 4. 6d.; and, about his own election and installation, a sum supposed to be 55l. 4s. 6d. He had also given to king Richard, at different times, in order to preserve his favor and avoid suspicions, no less than 126l. 13s. 4d. He had given to the archbishop of Canterbury, for his friendship and interest in obtaining of the king a confirmation of certain charters, or privileges, for certain clergy, 20l. He had given to the bishop of Carlisle, for the same kind of business, and in the same cause, 10l.; also, to the king's confessor, 10l.; also to a companion of his, 20l. 6s. 8d.; and, to master William Ferby, notary to the king, 10l.; and to John Serle, keeper of the rolls, 60l. 6s. 8d. In expences at Tytenhangre, for victuals and carriage, he had expended 60l. 2s. 9d.; for the new structure at Oxford, 138l. 3s. 2d.; and for making a very large barn at Crosley, and other buildings there, 100 marcs. In recovering the manor of Gorham he expended above 50l. 6s. 8d. (though this was given by friends); and, farther, 400 marcs to John Rolond, out of the rents of the said manor; also, for divers privileges, written and authorized, 73l. 6s. 8d.; and above 40l. more to be paid after his death; and, for constructing a certain wall at the priory at Beaulieu, almost inclosing the same, he paid 6l. 13s. 8d.

In exchanging rings with the bishop of Lincoln (Beaufort), he had given one to the bishop, which contained a piece of the true cross; and was therefore earnestly prized, and begged by the bishop. But, soon after, the bishop informed the abbot, that the ring given by him was considerably more valuable than the ring given by the abbot, and the difference must be made up in money. Here the bishop had forgotten all the terms of friendship, professed at the exchange of the rings; and this importunity was so pressing and troublesome, that the abbot was forced to give him 5l. for a final discharge. He made a journey towards Ware and Hychen with his seneschal, and then sent him to the parliament holden at Salop; all which cost 20l. He paid

paid also to the king, every year, a subsidy, or tax, called Plefaunce (a); and for some of the tenants 8l. 13. 4d. He paid also to Peter de Boſco, biſhop of Aix, and reſiding at Rome, for his goodwill and favour in that court, 10 marcs yearly. The journey of his commiſſary to viſit the monaſteries in the dioceſe of Lincoln coſt 20 marcs; and at times he gave, to the prior of the ſtudents at Oxford, 5l.

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In aid of theſe expences he received, of maſter William Burcot, 100l. for the privileges obtained for him and for the cells; from the prior of Tinmouth 100 marcs; from the prior of Wymondham, 16l. 13s. 4d; from the prior of Bynham 15l.; from the prior of Wallingford 20 marcs; from the prior of Hertford 6l. 13s. 4d. But the cells of Bealvoir, Hatfield, and Beaulieu, were ſo much in debt, that they were diſcharged from this demand. He alſo cauſed the burſar to pay him 20 marcs, and the ſub-cellarer 5l. for privileges obtained by him, or now granted, in the exerciſe of thoſe offices. And thus he recovered a ſum of 230l. 6s. 8d. He received alſo, as preſents from ſundry of the brethren, certain gifts on the recovery of Gorham and Weſtwick; and theſe amounted to 50l. 2s. 8d.

If it be aſked how theſe men became poſſeſſed of any money, it is to be ſaid that they had been allowed yearly a ſmall penſion; and, when Moote was elected, he made this penſion ten ſhillings a year. On the evening before the election, he had cloſeted many of the monks, and told them he wiſhed for the place of abbot, for no other reaſon but to recover the rights of the abbey, and to augment their ſtipend. He promiſed to do both, and ſucceeded; and this artifice had taken effect at the very inſtant of election; for, he, as prior, conducted the form of their proceeding, and, when the lawyers preſent aſked in what manner they would elect, directly his fautors raiſed a tumultuous and ſudden cry, to the utter confuſion of all the reſt; and, inſtantly running to him, took him out of the chair and carried him by force into the church, and, contrary to all uſage and decency, ſeated him on the altar. He had been born at a place in Berkſhire, named Syndloſham(b), of ordinary parentage. He was tall of ſtature, of a ſober air and deportment, and very fit for ſecular affairs; for, being the ſon of Thomas de la Moote, who was bailiff and auditor to many lords, he had received early inſtruction in thoſe

(a) To aid the king in building a houſe at Greenwich, given afterwards to duke Humphry, and in the crown in the time of Henry VIII.

(b) This Syndloſham is probably Ingleſham neat Faringdon.

John V the cares ; and, entering here, was soon made chaplain to abbot Thomas, and placed in the office of cellarer ; and discharged this duty, to the satisfaction of his employer, for twenty years.

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In 1399, the duke of York, uncle to Richard II. and regent of the realm during the King's absence in Ireland, assembled at the town an army of 60,000 men, in order to oppose the duke of Lancaster (a), who had landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and was claiming the crown as his inheritance unjustly detained from him, and demanding justice of the king. And this demand was carried to such excess as to induce the Parliament to dethrone Richard, and to place the crown on Henry of Lancaster's head. In this Parliament, the nobles and commons were unanimous in this precipitate act of violence ; and none rose up to speak for the absent and injured monarch, except the bishop of Carlisle ; who, though single, yet shewed an inviolate loyalty to Richard as his lawful sovereign, as well as the most sober, discreet, and wise, counsel, as a man, on this general defection of friends, and hasty proceedings towards a remedy. He said, in the presence of the lords, he doubted not to tell them, that there was none among them, meet to give judgement on so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had acknowledged for their sovereign, and liege lord, for the space of twenty-two years and more. ' I assure you,' quoth he, ' there is not so rank a traitor, nor so errant a thief, nor yet so cruel a murderer, apprehended or detained in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the justice, to hear judgement ; and will you proceed to the judgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse ? I say, I will avouch that the duke of Lancaster, whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to king Richard, and his realm, than king Richard hath done either to him or to us. For, it is manifest and well known, that the duke was banished the realm by king Richard and his council, and by the judgement of his own father, for the space of ten years : for what cause ye remember well enough. This notwithstanding, with licence of king Richard, he is returned again into the realm ; and, what is worse, hath taken upon him the name, title, and pre-eminence, of king. And, therefore, I say, ye have done manifest wrong, to proceed against king Richard, in any sort, without calling him openly to his answer and defence.'

(a) His father being just now dead, he claimed in his own person.

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I mention this story, because the honest prelate, for this free speech, was soon after sent prisoner, and confined in this abbey; and, by a new practice of the pope, when he would oblige a crowned head in getting rid of a bishop or ecclesiastic who was unacceptable, he was released, and appointed by his holiness to be bishop of Samos, in Greece. But the good man died, before he could set out on his new charge; and preserved an immortal fame, amidst the ill-treatment of those times. His name was THOMAS MERKES (a). John V. the
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WILLIAM HEYWORTH.

The next person, after Moote, who ruled this abbey and church, was William Heyworth. He was abbot from 1401 to 1421; when, being the year before appointed to the bishoprick of Lichfield, he resigned the dignity of lord abbot, and continued in that see 27 years after, as Goodwin saith. It is probable that he was born at Lichfield, or had some connection or predilection for the place; because, in 1404, he founded almshouses in Bacon-street, in that city (b); which, to this day, are in repute, and called by his name. William II. the
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Nothing is recorded of Heyworth, as abbot, except that he was esteemed for his holiness and piety; for the strictness of his own life, and for the prudent government of others. John of Wheathamstead was chosen on the resignation of William, as we learn from undoubted authority (c).

In this reign of Henry IV. the Lollards, favourers of the doctrine of Wickliff, had succeeded so far in spreading their opinions, as to imagine they had a great number of friends in Parliament: and, in Lent 1409, the heads of them presented a petition to Parlia-

(a) See *Goodwin*; and *Hume*, in 1399.—Dr. *White Kennet*, in two pamphlets, called *Letters to the Bishop of Carlisle*, and published in 1713 and 1716, endeavours to refute this relation, and deprive the bishop of the honour of this loyalty.

(b) See *Anglia Sac.* Vol. I. pp. 453 and 455.

(c) *Har. MSS.* 3775.

William II. the 3^d abbot. ment, to disseize the church of her temporalities. It was drawn up in this form.

‘ To the king’s most excellent Majesty, and all the Lords in Parliament assembled, the loyal Commons humbly suggest, that, in case our sovereign lord the king shall think fit to take away the estates possessed by the bishops, abbots, and priors, spent at present upon grandeur and unnecessary figure, the crown and kingdom will receive great advantage by such measures; for, by the seizure of these estates, the king will be enabled to create and provide for 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires; and to make a sufficient settlement for 100 new hospitals.’ In answer to this petition they were required to bring a valuation of the lands, &c. to prove that the fund would answer the length of the project; but here they failed in the matter of computation. The king also disliked the injustice of the motion, and charged the Commons not to presume ever to offer him again any such bill.

But, during the suspense and hopes of the Lollards, a great brewer of the town of Dunstable, named Murle, had fixed his eye on this abbey; and already had swallowed, in imagination, the estates, building, church, and all; declaring that no trade could thrive while the monks gave away so much beer. Though he was disappointed in making prize of the monastery, this incident shews what great temptations these places held forth to the covetous and rapacious. A few years after, namely, in the beginning of Henry the Vth’s reign, Sir John Oldcastle put himself at the head of these Lollards, and was contriving sedition and rebellion. He had drawn in many persons to side with him, and, among the rest, this rich brewer; who was promised by Oldcastle to be knighted in the field of battle, and to have conferred on him the lands and abbey of St. Alban. But, Sir John being taken prisoner and confined, his chief followers shared the same fate, and Murle was arraigned, convicted, and executed, for high treason (a).

When we view the life and transactions of Wickliff, we cannot but see how strongly it is verified, that the passions of men are among the great instruments of Providence, in effecting its purposes and designs. Resentment in this man, as afterward in Martin Luther, produced that active contradiction to the higher powers, which will distinguish those men to all posterity. About 1371, Wickliff was

removed, by Islip, the archbishop, from his place of prior in Canterbury College, at Oxford; and, from that time to 1389, his preaching and publishing new doctrines of civil polity, as well as of religious faith, kept the nation in a continual ferment: and, though he died in that year, a peaceable rector of Lutterworth, after he had seen his doctrines spread in Bohemia, to which country they were carried by some Bohemian scholars, who had studied at Oxford; yet the truth, that was found in his opinions and doctrines, continued to operate towards a future reformation in religion. But, not content with combating the doctrines of the Church, he attacked the state also; and (which demonstrates the near affinity and connection of Church and State) he taught new duties to the magistrate, and new rules of obedience to the subject; in short, the liberty, which he inspired, of questioning the doctrines of the church, went also to excite questions in the laws of the state. The liberty he taught tended to create universal discontent in the lower ranks of men, and was the chief cause of that insurrection, already mentioned, which was headed by Wat Tyler, in 1381; and which discontent, supported by new notions of equality, and plans of levelling the rich and great, and projects of reform, raised many insurrections in the reign of Henry V. until Parliament made an act for burning heretics, and till the Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcastle) was made, in 1418, the first great example of the laws severity.

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Heresy, neither in the Scripture, nor in common acceptation, is deemed a capital sin; until it becomes mixed with the motives of carnal ambition, and employs itself in creating parties, and procuring to itself secular numbers and worldly support. This pestilent heresy troubled the land about 50 years, when its civil principles were duly restrained; and its few seeds of religious truth grew and prospered, till they matured in the Reformation.

But, because the abbey afforded some stout defenders against the heresy of Wickliff, I will be more particular in describing his doctrine, &c.

It was at the latter end of Edward the Third's time when the heresy of Wickliff began to appear, and to be considered as a nuisance and pestilence that required correction. As he had been put out of his office of secular canon at Canterbury College, and monks admitted into his room, he took up no small enmity against all the orders of religious; and, as the archbishop, the head of the English seculars, had thus offended him, his anger and resentment not

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only were extended to him, but had a great share in moving that dissension which agitated the nation for 40 years. He continued in his office of divinity professor, and rector of Lutterworth; and this was a degree of eminence, which, added to his learning, caused great respect to be paid to his doctrines.

Though he was a secular divine, and subordinate to the bishop of Lincoln; yet, with all that courage which a conscious rectitude inspires, he inveighed against the riches and possessions of the Church, the discipline and government of it, the perversion of its power, and the worldly principles which actuated the general body of Churchmen. And this was reckoned, by them, a more dangerous act than if he had denied, and preached the denial of, some of the fundamental doctrines of the Saviour. Edward the Third had filled all the great offices of State with churchmen; and this circumstance might excite much envy, and cause many observers to impute all the civil acts of these men to the principles of their religion, and thus create a temper of hatred against the church.

The doctrines of Wickliff were, ‘ That the Church of Rome is no more the head of all churches than any other church; and that St. Peter had no greater authority conferred on him than any other apostle. That the pope of Rome had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any common priest. That temporal lords, being patrons, ought to be dispossessed of that right; and such church dispossessed of its lands, tithes, and revenues; and that a temporal lord or prince, when conscious of misrule in the church, is bound, on pain of damnation, to divest her of her property, and cast her out of his protection and law.’

He taught also, that ‘ the gospel is a sufficient rule and direction for the life and conduct of a Christian; that all supplemental rules, though instituted by holy men, and practised in the monasteries, give no more improvement to Christianity than whiteness doth to a wall. That no pope or prelate ought to have prisons, for punishing offenders against discipline; but every such person ought to go at large, and be at liberty both in motion and practice (a).’

It may be clearly discerned, by these charges, that there was much corrupt government in the Church; and that prosecutions in matters of discipline were frequent and severe: and it cannot be doubted,

that the author and preacher of such charges would find many bitter enemies. But he declared also a disbelief of their favorite doctrine of transubstantiation (a); for, he held that the Eucharist, after consecration, was not the true body of Christ; but only an emblem, or sign of it. Now, to controvert this established doctrine was a most heinous offence; and Wickliff was summoned to appear before a synod, convened by the archbishop at St. Paul's, to give an account of his faith. He appeared, accompanied by John, duke of Lancaster; and Percy, the lord marshal of the king's court. History presents us with the dialogue that followed, between the bishop of London and the two lords (b). And a tumult arising, no business or examination took place; and the accused was dismissed with an injunction of silence. This synod had met by virtue of a bull from the pope to the archbishop, requiring him to convene the professor, and examine his principles and faith: and this transaction happened a few months before Edward's death, in 1377.

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About this time the pope sent a bull to the university of Oxford, complaining of their favoring the doctrines of Wyckliff, with a rebuke for so long permitting him to propagate his errors, without correction. Walsingham, who lived within 50 years after, says, they debated long whether they should receive the bull or not. He mentions not their final resolution; but no step was taken, on their part, in obedience thereto. The pope sent another bull to the archbishop and bishop of London, charging them to preserve the young king and his court from Wickliff's infection—'for, these novelties were

(a) If we look into the origin of this monstrous doctrine, we shall find it to be no earlier than a Council of Lateran, in 1215, held by Innocent III. where the canons made are introduced by a very solemn form of faith, in which it is said, 'There is but one Catholic Church of the faithful, out of which none is saved; wherein Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are contained really, in the sacrifice of the altar, under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God; that so, to render the mystery of the unity perfect, we might receive of his nature what he received of ours.' And from these words alone, cherished, improved, and enlarged, and not from any bull, canon, injunction, or rescript, did that monster grow. Now these latter words are such as conciliate and explain; and the author's meaning, by *transubstantiated*, was the same as being spiritually changed and taken; for, the reason holds not good, if we take any thing of the sacrifice but the spiritual part; as he took nothing of ours but the bodily and material; and the mystery of the unity is not perfect and complete, but by our taking his spiritual part, as he took our carnal.

(b) Fox's Acts and Mon. Harpsfield in Vitâ Wycklif, p. 683.

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not only points of speculation, and errors of faith, but dangerous 'also to civil government.' Another bull was sent to the archbishop, charging him to proceed. Answer was made in the most compliant promises, and Wickliff was summoned to Lambeth; but some tumults arose without, while Wickliff was explaining his doctrines within; however, he gave some satisfaction, by a commodious way of interpreting, and qualifying his doctrines to the taste of his judges. He was dismissed, and silence enjoined him. This lenity was thought to have arisen, from perceiving the interest he had at court, and the great support from the lower orders of men; yet, in spite of the silence enjoined him, he went on publishing his notions and opinions, and adding thereto other new errors, or contradictions to ancient doctrines.

In this condition was the controversy with Wickliff, when, in 1381, the great insurrection broke out under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; who, together with their companions, were men of the lowest race, and meanest education, without letters, or any marks of distinction. They had been instigated to this proceeding by the preaching of one Ball, a secular priest; who, for 20 years, had been teaching the peasants and farmers of Norfolk; that, as all men were born equal, so they should live equal; that servitude and villanage never were intended by nature, and were only the contrivance of the rich to keep under the poor; and that Christians ought to assert their native liberty: that the rich had an overplus of wealth, beyond necessities; which they ought to relinquish for the use of those who had nothing, and thus bring mankind to an universal level. That they were under no obligations either to Church or State; for, they could do well without the instruction of the former, and the protection of the latter, being, as they conceived, competent to all things, and self-sufficient of themselves. This pestilent advice he mixed with some of Wickliff's more plausible opinions. Though the parties were ripe for sedition and rebellion, yet they might not at this time have arisen and taken arms, had not Ball been imprisoned by the archbishop, after having been excommunicated; and, by refusing to comply or submit to petition for absolution, had become liable to imprisonment. On this the rabble of Kent broke out, and rescued Ball from the prison at Canterbury; where he declared that he was perfectly easy, and knew that 20,000 men would come to set him at liberty. The peasants of Norfolk and Suffolk had received the like infection; and, assaulting the abbey at St. Edmund's Bury, they burnt

burnt all the charters and records, murdered the prior and Sir John Cavendish, chief justice, and set up their heads on poles in the market-place. These insurgents were afterwards met, at Barton-mills, by Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich; who, with a small armed force, encountered them; and, slaying some, put the rest to flight. As for Ball, he was soon after taken prisoner at Coventry, brought to the town of St. Alban's, tried before Sir Robert Tresilian, convicted of sedition and treason, and hanged for example.

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By this time the seditious were all quelled, and many of those taken were executed: but it no where appears that Wickliff held any communication with them; for, had he done so, these rebels would not have treated the palace of his friend and patron the duke of Lancaster, so ill, as to burn it. However, the next year (1382) the king impowered the bishops to arrest and imprison the followers of Wickliff; and he was questioned again before the bishops, and would have been totally crushed, had he not been supported by the duke of Lancaster. Wickliff gave account of his faith; and some articles were condemned by those present as heretical, and others only as erroneous. The king sent an order to Oxford, to charge the chancellor to discourage all the tenets of Wickliffe; but there were some found, who went farther in their opposition and dissension than Wickliff had done. And now began to be heard the term of Lollard; which seems to have begun here at Oxford, and which served as the watch-word for doctrines of reform against the grandeur of the prelates and clergy. It was a kind of under part to Wickliff; if not contrived on purpose to draw off the public eye from observing him, and, by raising a new dust, give him opportunity to escape.

At Oxford were several of the doctors and leading men, who strongly espoused Wickliff, and these all fell under censure, and were obliged to recant or to fly. And, to secure the university from a latitude of opinion, all the graduates were obliged to swear a renunciation of Wickliff's conclusions, as censured at Lambeth. Now, the Lollards, though supported and countenanced by many men of rank in Oxford, and by many gentlemen in the country, yet they consisted of low mechanics and the most inferior ranks of men; and the tenets they professed tended to inveigh against the ease of the clergy, the wealth of the laity, the mean appearance of the friars, and their affected sanctity. Thus did they unite themselves to the Wickliffites, and, if they agreed in deriding the Church and contemning the ministry, they cared not in what respects they might differ from each other.

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Now this sort of preachers and hearers gained the name of Lollard, not from any leader of that appellation; but it was a kind of cant term given to these pretended saints, from their resemblance to some other sects on the continent, who were much occupied in singing their devotions, and making a *lulling* kind of tone, such as is calculated to put children to sleep (a). In Flanders and Germany there were many congregations of these Lollards, and it is probable they came into England in the time of Edward III. when the woollen manufacture quitted those countries to settle in Norfolk and Suffolk; though they did not appear here in bodies and become public preachers. In Bohemia the like tenets and opinions were holden, and, in a few years, broke out into formidable rebellions, headed by John Huss and Jerom Prague. And in many countries, and in different ages, we can discern sects of this puritanical sort, who affect superior holiness, and a more pure form of devotion. It is well known, that among the Greeks there existed a sect who called themselves *Cathari*. The Waldenses and Albigenes were a plain uncorrupt people, and strove to attain a more perfect holiness, and a more pure faith, than they thought were possessed by the Romish clergy. There were, likewise, in the south of France, sects of Religious, who put themselves under monastic rules, and were incorporated by the pope, and distinguished by the name of *Bons Hommes*.

It matters not whether one can discover the pedigree and descent of these sects; or in what country they arise, and how they pass to another; for, in every country, where the distance between the rich and poor is very great, the latter will naturally, and perhaps justly, murmur against the former; the laborious will envy and malign the easy; pinching want will grow adverse and hostile to affluence and voluptuousness; the lower ranks of men will look out for helps, to abate their weakness, and procure comforts, which are denied to them, and, from satiety, flighted by others. The human mind will exert and struggle; and the bold and profligate will ever aid the confusion that may chance only to bring them some advantage. Whenever these men are thus agitated, and their minds sharpened by want, they soon find matter of reproach against their betters; and every superfluity of the latter becomes a source of desire and temptation to the former. These principles may be thought to lead only to seditions in

(a) Lullward—so the Begards, or Begward, from their piteous begging whine. Mosheim Ecc. Hist.

the state ; but heresies, and oppugning the doctrines of the church, arise from the like spring, or fountain, with those which disturb the state, differing only in the object against which they point their enmity. The like temper and inclinations set the mind to work ; and it depends only on the grievance, whether it be civil or religious, that the man is determined to be seditious and traitorous to the one, or an heretic and apostate to the other. And, as a proof of this truth, it may be observed how generally it happens, that the same temper of animosity and contradiction makes the possessor adverse, at the same time, both to Church and State ; and it is seldom or never seen that an enemy to one is any other than an enemy to both. Is this so, because the two are so allied, and connected, and interwoven in the same fabric, that the lot of both is to be alike combated and maligned ? No : it is because the mind of man, when heated by imaginary injury, will bear no restraints ; and as freely leaps over all the ordinances and commands of God as over the laws of man.

William II. the
3^d abbot.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that sects arise : especially in Popish countries ; where so much objectionable matter presents itself every moment to our view ; where the devotion and worship are without instruction and edification ; and where the ministry are not examples of a real unfeigned humility and piety, and of incorruptible integrity.

Wickliff was no more persecuted ; and, in 1387, died a quiet and peaceful parish-priest, rector of Lutterworth. In his assertions he had opened many of the doctrines of the Romish Church, and exposed the evil principles both of that and its clergy ; and these dwelt in the minds of thoughtful men, especially his notions of the Eucharist, in a manner to prepare the way for the Reformation 150 years after ; yet he was justly charged with many, not only irreverend notions towards the Church, but many impious opinions in matters of faith. He explained predestination and reprobation in such severe terms as to establish a stoical fate, and make all things proceed from absolute necessity. And, perhaps, this taking away all free will was one great reason why he was not more esteemed or followed by the reformers.

It was now the second of Henry the IVth's reign, when the Lollards were so considerable for their numbers, and so powerfully supported, that the King and Parliament passed the famous act, *de Heretico comburendo*(a), in order to stop this contagion. This was thought

(a) See the statute in Coll. Eccl. Hist. I. p. 614.

William II. the
2d at bor. severe; but the safety of the state, which was now involved in the common danger, required a sharp remedy. Burning had ever been the punishment of heresy at common law, says Briton, 1. 9. But then the accused was not convicted before his diocesan; whereas, now he was brought to a more learned tribunal; and then to be delivered over to the secular power; and the king might pardon if he thought fit. Therefore, this act manifested more lenity, where there was room for it; and the process was conducted with the consent of the regal power as well as that of the Church. The act charges these persons with 'making unlawful conventicles and confederacies, holding and exercising schools, writing books wickedly instructing and informing people, exciting and stirring them to sedition and insurrection, and making strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard, daily to perpetrate and commit.' Soon after, one Sawtre, was convicted of heresy, in denying transubstantiation, and executed; and, in 1409, a smith, named Badby, underwent the like trial, and refused mercy, even in the midst of the flames, when offered, on condition that he would retract his denial, and agree to that doctrine. And, in this year, did the Lollard interest in Parliament petition the king, as above related, to disseize the Church of its temporalities. The king rejected this petition with anger. Then the Commons moved a bill for altering that statute, and making the offence bailable, or that the offender should be kept in the king's prisons, and not in the bishop's. The king refused, and said *he would rather heighten than abate the rigor of that law*. The next year (1410), the university of Oxford, in a full congregation, condemned 200 conclusions, found in Wickliff's books; and ordered the censured books to be burnt. The king dying, in 1413, the Lollards again raised their heads, and used many threats, by papers secretly affixed to church-doors, in London, that they could bring into the field an hundred thousand men in arms; and now began to appear Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, as their leader and head. This man had been an officer, and much valued by the late king for his military talents; but, the Convocation now sitting, the bishops summoned him as an inflexible heretic, to appear and give account of his faith, before the archbishop. Oldcastle refused. The archbishop cited him again in form; he refused again. The archbishop excommunicated him, and summoned him to appear on St. Matthew's day, and shew cause why he should not be pronounced guilty of heresy and schism. The knight, still denying any compliance, was seized and brought by the lieu-

lieutenant of the tower before the archbishop on the day appointed. ^{William II. the 3^d abbot.} He then read, from a written paper, the substance of his faith; which, in the main, was good; but, on the article of the Eucharist, he declared expressly against the Church's doctrine; saying, it was a modern decision; and that the church thought otherwise at first, and did not vary until she had been poisoned by being endowed (a). His contumacy herein, and inflexible temper, caused him to declare, that he would not recede from this confession of his faith. On which the Court proceeded to sentence, and the archbishop, with great regret, declared him an heretic convict; and left him, as such, to the lay power. The archbishop, reporting this to the king, begged a respite of 50 days; this was readily granted, for, both were very desirous of preserving the criminal. Before the 50 days were expired, he escaped from the Tower, and his followers assembled, in great numbers, in St. Giles's in the Fields; but, being opposed and routed by the king, they dispersed, and Cobham wandered about the country, and was reduced to extremities; and his friends (among whom was Murle the brewer) convicted of sedition and treason, and hanged. It was now the year 1416, when Cobham was nearly surprized, at a farm-house near this town of St. Alban, belonging to the abbot; but his vigilance saved him from being taken; and the pursuers found only religious books, which the Lollards, in their superstitious zeal, had defaced and mutilated, by cutting off the heads of the virgin and the saints. However, it was not long, before he was apprehended in Powis Land, in North Wales, and brought up to the House of Lords then sitting; where his indictment for levying war against the king, found two years before in the King's Bench, being read to him, and the question put, whether he made any objection to the proceedings, he answered, 'that he could not acknowledge them for his judges, so long as his sovereign lord, king Richard, was living in Scotland.' On this declaration, a warrant was signed for his execution, with an order that he should be hanged, and then burnt; the first part of the sentence being adjudged for his treason, and the last for his heresy. Any farther proceedings of trial were thought unnecessary, because he had been out-lawed, for not appearing to the indictment for levying war, in St. Giles's Fields.

This instance of severity happened in 1417, and it was so seasonable, that we read no more of the Lollards. But it is probable that,

(a) Walf. Hist. Ang. 384.

William II. the
3^d abbot.

although they might possess some opinions of undeniable truth, yet they retained them in private, and had learnt the danger of disturbing the public peace, and civil repose of the nation, by affecting to establish their notions by force, or mixing any questions of a civil nature with their opinions of religious matters.

The doctrines of the Lollards were probably derived from those of the Waldenses and Albigenes; though, in any part of the world, heresies must arise among any people who had learning to enable them to compare the Romish faith and discipline with that taught by the apostles. And it is to be expected, that more gospel truth, and a *more pure faith*, should be found in the southern provinces of France than in any other country; because, in these were anciently planted many of the first churches; here dwelt many of the Latin fathers, and, in the early ages of the gospel, here were founded many of the most eminent institutions for preserving and propagating the Christian faith. And, although the doctrines, or at least the publication of the doctrines, entertained by the Waldenses and Albigenes, were stopped and restrained by the artifices of the popes, and a formidable tribunal erected to extirpate their opinions; yet more true Christian doctrine hath ever shewn itself in that country, than in almost any other; and may be traced thence to many other countries of Christendom (a). And, as one eminent instance of the pure faith of that country, we may note the peculiar good morals which have ever prevailed there. A simplicity of manner, uncorrupted by an intercourse or knowledge of the world, with a great portion of humble industry and patient content, has distinguished those people; with a decent piety even to the Romish worship, and a prudent concealment of any principles or opinions, that may offend others. Yet, in their zeal for their religion, they have at times mixed their sentiments of government, and engaged in contentions of the state; and, from these dissensions, have they drawn down upon them all the horrid persecutions which stain the annals of their history.

In these countries were found the *Bonnes Hommes*; who, though planted in monasteries, bear testimony to a character of distinguished piety and holy living; and, when brought into this country, still preserved the same good fame. And here I will conclude this long digression with a short account of the *Bonnes Hommes* of Ashridge.

(a) See Quick's Synodicon, sub initio.

ASHRIDGE COLLEGE, FOUNDED IN 1283, THE 11th YEAR OF
EDWARD I.

Berkhampstead, both the manor and the castle, had belonged to the Crown, in the time of the Saxon kings; was frequented by William the Conqueror, and at this place he received the submission of abbot Frederic of St. Albans, and many others of his new subjects. This place continued in the Crown, and was the residence of some of the kings, and often of their near relations, &c. and, at length, was the abode of Cicely, the old dutchess of York, mother of king Edward IV. and Richard, his successor; and at this place she lived to extreme old age, in the time of Henry VII. before she took her leave of all worldly vanity, in the year 1497. This place was the residence also of Richard, duke of Cornwall; and who, in 1257, was elected king of the Romans; and, by the interest of the elector of Cologn, intended to be placed on the Imperial Throne of Germany. This Richard had chosen the spot at Ashridge, in the midst of woods, for a house of pleasure; and perhaps as commodious for the sports of the field: and it thus became an occasional residence. And in the year of his election he placed some religious here, in honor of his son Edmund, then 7 years old. At this time Henry III. built a royal mansion at Langley, and abode there very often; the place being not only extremely pleasant, but also in the vicinity of his brother Richard, duke of Cornwall; between whom there subsisted a most endearing affection; and, as a mark thereof, the king, on going abroad, generally made him regent of the kingdom. This Richard died at Berkhamstead, on the 2d of April, 1272, about seven or eight months before the king.

Richard left a younger son, named Edmund; his elder having died before him. And this Edmund was the son of Cynthia, one of the daughters of Beatrice, countess of Provence; Henry, the king, having married another. The court of England had been frequented by crowds of the nobles and gentry of Provence, and of Anjou and Poitou. And it is probable, that Edmund, now duke of Cornwall, brought this religious order, and placed them at Ashridge, in compliance with some pious request of his mother; or, by the interest and influence of some of the Provençals. My reason for this is, because
R r 2 they

(Provençals)

they were brought out of the South of France; in which country a sect then prevailed, who called themselves *Boni Homines*, and were called, in the Gascon dialect of the vulgar, *Los Bos Homes*. They were a sect of mystics; approaching, as some thought, to Manichæism, and by some confounded with the Albigenes; but, in truth, a remnant of the ancient Paulicians (a).

They were brought to Ashridge, in 1283, by Edmund, earl of Cornwall; probably out of regard to their singular piety and good name; and to perform for himself and his mother, who lived now at Berkhamstead, all the holy functions then in repute. And, as a farther proof that these new monks were near akin to the Albigenes, I must remark the old paintings on the walls of the cloisters; where it is visible, though the figures are now much decayed, and but one piece remains intire; yet there is sufficient argument to shew, that the subjects were all made in extreme derision of the frier preachers and frier minors; for, these two orders, having been introduced into England about the year 1221, had affected superior holiness and purity, and pretended to absolute poverty and self-denial, though they built nobly and lodged superbly. They had drawn on them the odium of all the ancient orders, and were ridiculed on all occasions, where carving or painting could exhibit their true colours. And especially did these orders receive a double share of ridicule and contempt from the Albigenes; because, against them, and to preach down their antipapistic doctrines, had these orders been at first instituted and encouraged.

This Edmund, earl of Cornwall, gave to the rector of the *good men* the brothers of the church founded at Afferugge, in honour of the precious blood of Jesus Christ, for the maintenance of 20 brothers clerks, whereof 13 at least to be priests, the following endowment; viz. his manor of Afferugge, with Pithelestone, and all other its appurtenances; also, the manors of Little Gatesdene, with that of Hamelhamstede; except the advowson of the church; with all privileges and immunities belonging to the said manors. He also allowed them common pasture in his wood of Berchamestede, called *Le Frythe*. The earl, by another deed, gave also to the brothers aforesaid the manors of Cestreton, (now called Chesterton, a small vicarage belonging to New College,) and of Ambrosden, (another small vicarage,) together with the advowson of the churches of the same (b).

(a) Mosh. Eccl. Hist. 11 Cent.

(b) Dugdale's Mon. vol. I.

And these grants and donations are all confirmed, and all the privileges annexed to the above manors, by a charter of Edward I. in the 14th year of his reign. 1280

Only one more priory of these Bonnes Hommes was founded in England; and that was at Edingdon, in the county of Wilts, by William de Edingdon, bishop of Winton, in the year 1352, in the reign of Edward III. to whom the said bishop was lord treasurer and mint master.

The above mentioned Edmund, earl of Cornwall, was a man of singular piety: for, in his castle of Wallingford, then a part of his possessions, he gave, in the 10th year of Edward I. and confirmed, a maintenance in his chapel of St. Nicolas, in the said castle, for a dean, 6 chaplains, 6 clerks, and 4 acolyths, or taper-bearers, the sum of 40l. a year, to be paid out of his yearly revenue of lands at Waterbury, or Waterperry, and Shillingford (a).

The principal, or ruler, of this house, or college, was called a rector. And Browne Willis has collected the names; thus,

Richard de Watford, resigned in 1296

William de Harwold, who died in 1335.

Richard de Serret, who died in 1346.

Gilbert de Bowelles was then elected.

Ralph de Aston died 1396.

John de Trengge, or Tring, is then mentioned.

Robert ——— occurs in 1428 and 1431.

John ——— occurs in 1435 and 1452.

John Berkhamstead resigned 1521.

John Maldon died 1529.

Thomas Waterhouse, who surrendered at the general dissolution, and had a pension for life of 100l. a year, and 50 loads of wood out of the woods of the late said House. He died about the end of Mary's or beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and was buried in Little Berkhamstead, or North Church.

Part of the gardens, and the outhouses, stand in the parish of Little Gaddestden, in the county of Hertford; but the house and church, which latter has been demolished many years, stood in Pitston parish, in Bucks.

In the augmentation-office is a pension book, comprehending the names of all persons to whom pensions were to be paid. The first

Portion to be paid at the anniversary of our lady, in the 31st year of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII. And from that book the following is an extract.

To Thomas Waterhouse, 100l. a year, and 50 lodes of wode.

			l.	s.	d.
To Thomas Hyll,	-	-	10	0	0
To Michael Draper,	-	-	10	0	0
John Hatfelde Senex,	-	-	8	0	0
To Robert Hychyn,	-	-	7	0	0
To Richard Sowders,	-	-	5	6	8
To Richard Canon,	-	-	6	0	0
To John Slepnothe,	-	-	8	0	0
To Richard Gardyner,	-	-	7	0	0
To William Knyghton,	-	-	6	0	0
To Richard Bedforde,	-	-	6	0	0
To Roger Byrcheleye,	-	-	6	0	0
To William Yonge,	-	-	6	13	4
To William Downham,	-	-	6	13	4
To William Broke,	-	-	5	6	8
To Edward Peacock Novyce,	-	-	2	13	4
			<hr/>		
			100	13	4

Per nos { John Tregonwell,
John London,
William Cavendish, } Auditors,

These monks had a kind of governor or visitor, as other orders had, called a provincial, the last of which was one Paul Bush; whose works, yet extant, shew him to be learned in divinity and in physick. He was made the first bishop of Bristol; and consecrated in 1542; and was deprived by queen Mary for being married (a).

This house had been visited in the 26th of Henry VIII. by the king's commissioners, prior to the first act of dissolution, which passed in the 27th; when the valuation was thus:

In Temporals.

			l.	s.	d.
By farms in Hemelhempstead,	-	-	137	10	7

(a) Dug. Mon. I. 144.

By

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	137	10	7
By farms in Bovington,	-	-	69 9 3
Customary fees in Gaddefden Parva,	-	-	7 7 10
----- in Frythesdon,	-	-	6 13 10
Rent of tenements in Berkampstead,	-	-	1 0 0
Fee farm rents in Aldbury,	-	-	2 13 4
Rents and farms in Cestretton, Oxon,	-	-	27 13 2
----- in Ambrosden,	-	-	31 5 10
By Rents in Pitston,	-	-	16 2 6
Lands in the hands of the rector, and belonging to the college, 104 acres; lying in 5 closes, viz. in Parkfield, 32 acres; Honing Arc field, 30 acres; Durmer, 21 acres; Loosfield, 10 acres; and Tosehill, 11 acres; at the rate of six pence per acre, are worth	-	-	2 12 0
By pasture,	-	-	3 2 0
By sale of the woods,	-	-	13 6 8
Fines for heriots and perquisites of courts,	-	-	2 0 0
By fines and releases,	-	-	2 0 0
Amount of Temporals,	322	17	0

In Spirituals.

The rectory of Hemel Hempstead,	-	42	3	0
Rectory of Blackthorn, in Oxon.	-	30	1	8
Rectory of Chesterton,	-	8	0	0
Rectory of Pitston,	-	30	10	10
By fines and releases of the rectories,	-	1	6	8
By retaining their own tenths,	-	0	15	8
Gross amount,	435	14	10	
Deduct reprizals,	31	1	8	
Total valuation,	404	13	2	

This pious earl of Cornwall did also, in the year 1281, found and endow an abbey for Cisterrians, at Osney, near Oxford, valued at the suppression at 1741. a year, and now in the possessions of Christ Church. In 1720 the arms of the said earl were visible over the gate, viz. in one shield his paternal coat, a lion rampant in a border of be-

fants; and in another, the black eagle of Germany spread and displayed.

Some of the blood of our Saviour was said to have been brought over by the first *Bonnes Hommes*, and kept in this church. The founder was buried in it; and his heart, with that of Thomas Cantelupe, bishop of Hereford, and chancellor of England, and who died in 1282, were deposited on the north side of the altar; though the body of this latter was interred at Hereford, and a high tomb of marble, still to be seen, placed over it.

This college of Ashrugge, in the beginning of Edward I. had acquired the patronage of the church of Hempstead, and of its chapels, from the prior of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield (a).

Soon after the dissolution, the said late rector, Waterhouse, together with one Combes, rented the impropriation of Hempstead, and lived there in the Bury; paying rent to the office of augmentation, 42l. 3s. od.

(a) Records Tower MSS. 28.

C H A P T E R VII.

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD.

THIS abbot, one of the most famous and illustrious in the annals of the abbey, was born at Wheathampstead, and of a family named Bostock. The first mention to be found of him is, that he was trained up at Glocester College, in Oxford, and was prior there when he was elected to the rule and government of St. Alban's Abbey. It has been noted, that Glocester College had been the place of his education, to which all the young monks were sent, from all the principal Benedictine houses in England, and especially from this of St. Alban; there to be instructed in such reputable learning and knowledge as was not taught in their respective monasteries. This college had been the dwelling of Gilbert Clare, earl of Glocester, (A.D. 1260), who married a daughter of Edward I. and who probably built this house, or constructed the hall and the window therein; for, in the said window are his arms now visible (a) in painted glass, viz. Or, with 3 chevrons Gules. It became forfeited to the king by the treason of that earl, and in 1283 was founded, by John Gifford and the abbot of St. Peter's Abbey, in Glocester, for the monks of that house; and enlarged, by licence of Mortmain, for other houses of the

John VI. the
33d abbot.

(a) That is, in 1722, when Stevens compiled the Addenda to the Monasticon.

John VI. the same order ; that the novices might be trained up in arts and sciences.
 33^d abbot. And the arms of the several abbeys who had colonies here, or of their benefactors, are still to be seen, cut in stone, over the several doors in the quadrangle ; with the arms of St. Alban's Abbey (together with those of Tavistoke, Burton, and Chertsey) over the outward gate. The college, though consisting of youth from divers abbeys, was ruled by one head over the whole, called the prior. In this headship was John Bostock, when chosen to be abbot ; and his successor in the priorate was John Amersham, his faithful friend and follower : for, a few years after, he quitted the office of prior, and went to live as a monk in this abbey ; and composed a history of the life and principal events of abbot John. This Gloucester college received great and liberal contributions from John, afterwards, in the rebuilding of their chapel (a) ; on the windows of which he bestowed much cost, furnishing the same with the pictures of the Crucifixion, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. John ; with certain Latin verses beneath. He contributed also to the rebuilding of the library, and gave divers of his own books ; prefixing in the front of each, for their better security, verses ending thus :

Quem si quis rapiat raptim, titulumve retractet,
 Vel Judæ laqueum, vel furcas sentiat amen.

About the same time, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, then a student in Oxford, became acquainted with John ; and gave books, in like manner, to this college, and laid the foundation of the public library, and sent to it many volumes of great price and estimation. This college had its fall at the general dissolution, and was valued, if rented, at 26s. 8d. and, when king Henry VIII. erected a bishop's see in Oxford, he ordained this for the bishop's dwelling and palace. Then, the see being void, the place fell to decay, and Sir Thomas White purchased the same, and united it to St. John's College, founded by him before, viz. in 1557.

The first thing that employed the attention of John was the state and condition of the abbey-church ; which, through the neglect of his predecessors, had fallen into decay, and now stood in great need of repair. To this purpose he collected many sums from the lay gentry, who were well disposed towards the monastery ; and he encouraged an old practice of admitting into the fraternity many gentlemen and ladies

(a) Rebuilt, and much altered, since that time.

of high rank and quality. They were sometimes said *fusci pere in se* John VI. the 33^d abbot. *fraternitatem*; and at others *admissi sunt ad fraternitatem*: but the meaning of both phrases is the same. In the number who entered this year were Roland Penteshall, knt. and many others who were of rank and eminence for fortune, knights also; and one of them is styled *Dapifer Reginae*. Another, who entered, was Thomas More, formerly dean of St. Paul's; whose executors, some years after, gave 26l. towards the repairs. In 1423 there were admitted the illustrious Humphry, duke of Glocester; and Jaqueline, duchess of Holland and Haynault, his wife. These two personages, having kept the feast of the nativity, or, in modern phrase, passed the Christmas holidays, in the monastery, conferred, at their departure, two purple robes. This admission into the fraternity gave no new civil privileges to the persons; nor laid on them any new duties or burdens: they were not compellable to undergo the strict and rigid way of living, observed by the monks; neither to rise early, nor to eat the bread of carefulness. But it was a token of their esteem and honour for religion; and they were allowed to vote in the chapter: so that it was a wise policy to encourage the rich and great to become thus interested for the safety and prosperity of these institutions. In 1428, above 30 persons took on them the rule of the fraternity, as appears by the list. And one of them was Sir Henry Beauchamp; probably the son of Henry Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. All these contributed to the works of the church; but the coats of arms, which are fixed on the tops of the pillars, which support the roof over the steps and the communion-table, belong to the contributors in the last century. Beside the necessary repairs, the abbot caused many embellishments to be made; the principal of which was the cieling, or lining of the roof, throughout the length of the body.

My author records many trifling events about this time; which, though not interesting at present, might be so to the body, and at that time: as that, in the last year of Henry V. a great fire happened in the town, and consumed the house of Lawrence West; that the next year a fire consumed the house and goods of John Hale, a carpenter in Sopwell lane; that the same year came the archbishop, Henry Chicheley, to Barnet, and was there met by the abbot, who attended his grace in order to supplicate that the excommunication might be taken off: of which we at present can learn nothing more.

In the 5th year of John's promotion, and the 4th of king Henry VI. one Thomas Heynes begged leave of the abbot to cut turf, or clods, on Barnard wood or heath; for the purpose of making butts (*metas* *sa-*

John VI. the *sagittarius*) at Halywelle, for the entertainment of sojourners, and the exercise of the youth, in the military art. In the 6th of this king's reign, came a crafty knave to London, pretending that he was sent as ambassador from the emperor to our king, that he was the baron of Clacmare, and also very skilful in physic. But, his fraud being discovered, (and no higher crime is charged upon him,) he was beheaded; his head fixed on the tower, and his four quarters suspended on gibbets in the city, in order to deter others from committing frauds. In this year, the duchess of Holland(a) (and wife of Humphry duke of Gloucester) rode through the great court of the abbey, attended by 24 horsemen, in her way to the royal mansion at Langley: and, next day, the duke followed her, accompanied by Sir John Roberts, his master of the horse, and 10 horsemen. In autumn, the abbot set forth to make a visitation of all the cells; and at his return reposed himself at Tyttenhamgre after his great fatigues.

In 1428, John Crosby was buried in the north aisle, towards the chapel of St. Andrew: and the bishop of Winton, Henry Beaufort, having been at Berwic to attend a conference with the king and queen of Scots, returned this summer; and, after making some stay at Ashridge (*loco sibi dilecto*), he came to this monastery, and stayed some days. At his departure he was attended with a solemn procession to the outer gate; the abbot and officers clothed in their scarlet copes.

In 1429, the lady Margaret Wynt made regular profession, and was admitted to the rule at Sopwell; and presented a girdle, or band, richly adorned with precious stones, of the value of 10 marcs. This was done by most persons on their professing the rule, as a token of renouncing all the vanities of the world. And, on the same day, after the vespers, or evening service, at 6 o'clock, the lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, (widow of Thomas duke of Clarence, next brother to the late king, and slain in Anjou, in 1422,) was received into the fraternity; the convent being dressed anew, and all the music playing (*cum organo* and *cum organis*, says my author,): and after presenting

(a) This lady had been the daughter of the duke of Bavaria, and being his only child, was heiress to the dutchies of Holland, Haynault, Zealand, and Frizeland. She first married John, a prince of France; and, he dying, was left a widow, in 1416. She then married her cousin, the duke of Brabant: but she left him; and, on small invitation, united herself and possessions to the English interests: and the duke of Gloucester espoused her, and brought her to England. The pope would not dissolve her marriage with Brabant; and, about 1428, her estates and honours being seized by the duke of Burgundy, she was forced to leave Humphry, and submit to such terms as Burgundy imposed. And, soon after, Humphry married the daughter of lord Cobham, who had suffered death in the cause of the Lollards, in 1416.

in the chapter two censers for burning frankincense, and saluting those present with a farewell benediction, she returned to Sopwell, and lived in perfect conformity to all the rules and austerities of the house. At this time there were 15 ladies of rank, at the head of whom was this duchess of Clarence, and the lady Elizabeth Hoby who had been admitted to the fraternity; and 18 men, the principal of which were John the bastard of Clarence, and Sir William Hoby.

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In this same year, 1429, was solemnized the coronation of the young king, scarcely 8 years old: in which my author says, that Chicheley anointed the royal person; that thousands and thousands assembled; that one priest was trampled to death, and one woman; that many pickpockets (*scissores loculorum*) were taken, and had their ears cut off: a very concise account of so grand a solemnity.

In 1430, died Matilda Flamstead, styled *domina*, or lady, prioress of Sopwell; who had lived in the rules of the religion 60 years and 18 weeks; and, in the whole, 81 years and 8 weeks. In this year, a certain priest, who had long been degraded for his impieties and depravity, in professing the Lollard doctrines, was burnt in Smithfield; the duke of Gloucester, then protector of the realm, being present, and thousands more to behold the dreadful spectacle. A fire happened this year at Langley, *grande et damnosum*, says my author: a plague broke out at Codicote; and a great fire at Walsingham, which consumed 4 inns, supposed to have been done out of malice by the pilgrims. About this time, also, the abbot caused some footways to be stopped or turned, through places whereof no memory remains; as, Ropestake-lane, Monkwood, Flamtonwood, and Wangate (a). These are very trifling occurrences: but they shew the quiet and undisturbed state in which the abbot and monks lived, and with what uniform regularity all their affairs were conducted, when such trifles were thought worthy to be recorded by their register and historiographer.

Our abbot, being summoned to Parliament, found himself much mortified, and degraded, he thought, in seeing the abbot of Westminster take a seat above him; but, learning that Westminster had long usage to plead, he forbore to make any claim, but ordered it to be registered, how and in what manner the abbot of St. Alban, who had been dignified with precedence, and styled the first abbot in place and honour, had lost this pre-eminence. And it was after this manner: in the reign of Richard II. who was a great fautor and promoter of

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the abbot of Westminster, the Parliament then sitting, John Moot, at that time abbot of St. Alban, took his proper seat, viz. the first and uppermost. The abbot of Westminster coming in late, made some essay to sit in that place; but was hindered by Moot: and this attempt was repeated many times after, and as often repulsed by Moot: and Westminster took another seat. But, one day, Moot being absent, and his place supplied by his prior, Westminster came, and a great dispute arose; the abbot claiming, the prior defending. Henry, earl of Northumberland, (perhaps on reference to him,) said, ‘ That the late abbot, Thomas de la Mare of St. Alban, (who died in 1396,) having been absent for 10 years by reason of infirmity, had lost all right, and that others had sat above him *ad libitum*.’ The prior appealed to the lords who had seen these things 10 years before; and these were, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Scroope, and William of Wykeham. These noble lords, unwilling to offend the King by determining against the abbot of Westminster, referred it to his Majesty, with a request, that he would save harmless all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of his ancient and royal monastery of St. Alban. The king decreed, that the two abbots should take the seat alternately, day by day. But the abbot of St. Alban being often absent, by reason of distance, and Westminster being near at hand, he took the advantage, and seated himself at pleasure; and William Heyworth, who succeeded Moot, contenting himself with a consciousness of having most learning, never *asserted his ancient right*, nor moved the question more.

When John had caused the cieling and roof to be repaired and beautified, as before related, he gave orders that the walls should be well whitened, and the floor made clean, and kept so: and, in particular, that the grave-stones, of the several personages buried in the church and other places, should be washed and kept as clean as possible; which, in such a constant resort of such and so many persons, was scarcely possible to effect. On this occasion, my author gives an account of the several grave-stones then brought to light and purity, part of which I will insert in his own words.

‘ In the Presbytery, which was on the north side of the great altar, and where the priests and clergy were seated, above the upper steps and near the altar, four abbots had been buried under stones of marble; viz. Hugo Everden, Richard Wallingford the clockmaker, Michael Mentmore, and Thomas de la Mare. And near the Great Chandelier (*candelabrum*, which was a large frame for holding many lights,

‘ lights, and standing in the middle of the choir) lie three others; as
 ‘ their sepulchral marbles and inscriptions do testify, viz. John Ma-
 ‘ rinus, John Berkhamstead, and Roger Norton. The rage and fu-
 ‘ rious spirit of the Normans had destroyed all memorials of the
 ‘ graves and tombs of the Saxon abbots; but tradition said, they had
 ‘ been buried in the chapter-house. In the very door of this chapter-
 ‘ house was John Moot laid, under a flat stone, decorated with his
 ‘ figure and an epitaph. Then, towards the east front of the chapter-
 ‘ house, there lie, in order, the bodies of four abbots, under stones of
 ‘ marble adorned with images and inscriptions, viz. Dom. Guarinus
 ‘ (or Warren) of Cambridge, Ralph Gobion, William Trumping-
 ‘ ton, and John de Hertford. And toward the west lay the bodies
 ‘ of six abbots, in regular order, (*seriatim*,) viz. Paul de Cadomo (of
 ‘ Caen) a Norman; Richard de Exaquo, a Norman; Geoffrey de
 ‘ Gorham, a Norman; then Robert de Gorham; next, was that of
 ‘ Simon; and, last, that of John de Cellâ, or of Studham. Their
 ‘ epitaphs contained praises and blessings, such as would merit
 ‘ Heaven. In the middle of the chapter-house, toward the south,
 ‘ lay Adam Wytنام, formerly steward, woodward, and prior of
 ‘ this monastery; and opposite to him lay Adam Rous, formerly
 ‘ surgeon to king Edward III. On the same side, namely, northward,
 ‘ lay master Adam, the steward, who had been nicknamed Lion,
 ‘ under a marble. Near his grave, there stood, rising out of the
 ‘ pavement and thus proving often a stumbling-block to passers,
 ‘ a very old stone; which was used to be chipped into little pieces;
 ‘ and these being reduced to powder, the same was administered in a
 ‘ drink to the monks, as being thought very conducive to their
 ‘ health (a).

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‘ In the middle of the cloister, and nearly opposite to the door of
 ‘ the chapter-house, was deposited the body of Barthol. Wendover,
 ‘ formerly rector of Shangton, in Leicestershire, a great benefactor
 ‘ to the repairs and improvements of the cloister. Over him was a
 ‘ flat stone, setting forth his merits, in this epitaph:

‘ Bartholomæus in hoc de Wyndover monimento
 ‘ Clauditur; hoc claustrum decoravit qui pavimentum:
 ‘ Cum Reddetur ei Supremæ vitaDiei,
 ‘ Fac ut, summe Deus! convivat Bartholomæus.

(a) Probably this was slate, or had all the virtues of testaceous powder.

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‘ In the same cloister, and just before the lowest step of the door going into the chapter-house, lies William Trent, formerly prior of Hatfield, sub-almoner, and a profound instructor of the monks.

‘ In the south wing (or transept), and just before the image of the virgin, which is called *Pulchra* (a), lies William Heron, formerly prior of Wallingford: near this grave, and toward the south, lies Nicholas Radcliffe, a doctor of great fame, and a stout defender (*expugnator fortissimus*) against the heretic John Wycliffe. And adjoining to this grave lay Robert Norton, in the habit of a monk, engraven on his stone, as under a tabernacle (*infra tabernaculum*), who had been prior under the abbot Michael.

‘ Near the middle of the chapter-house, and opposite the chapel of St. Symeon, were buried William Heyworth, formerly abbot; and Thomas Albin, *confessor et cancellarius*, under a flat stone without any inscription. Near them lay Thomas Bewyk, formerly steward; and Adam Howton, burfar to Thomas de la Mare. Opposite the door of St. Symeon’s Chapel lay John Guldeford, formerly prior of Wymondham, and then *Custos Monialium de Sopwell*: interred in this place by leave of John Wheathampstead, our most pious father, in consideration of the merits of the deceased.

‘ In the south aisle of the church, which was used for walking (*pro ambulatorio*), opposite the shrine of Alban, (and now the entrance of the south door), under a long stone, decorated with a shield of arms and an inscription, lay Sir Walter Sottingham, knight. Under the arch, or vault, of the saint’s shrine (as we have heard from our ancestors): at least inclosed under the pavement, and in the said vault, lies Sir William Clynton, formerly earl of Huntingdon, whose image is very handsomely figured, or represented, in very costly work, beneath the the said vault, (*infra dictum fornicem*), and whose actions in the service of the state, and deserts towards this monastery, place him in the list of our benefactors (b).

‘ In the same south wing, and near the lowest step of the altar of St. Mary, on a small stone, is the figure of abbot Roger. His

(a) See the plan of the Church.

(b) This Clinton we find was one of the six knights who were made earls by Edward III. in 1337, on the day when the king created his son prince of Wales; and this man must have died before the year 1377; because in that year the family was extinct, and Richard II. conferred the title of earl of Huntingdon, on a Frenchman named Guiscard d’Angoulême, his governor: and Dugdale, in his Baronage, confirms this

‘ body was buried as above, in the middle of the choir; but his heart ^{John VI. the 33d abbot.} was deposited at the foot of this shrine; probably at his own request: for, his devotion had been for many years peculiarly directed to the Virgin; and he had performed mass four times every day at her altar, without intermission, for a long time (a).

‘ In the Chapel of the Virgin, (now called St. Mary’s Chapel,) on the north side thereof, and near the altar, under stones of marble, lie St. Alphonso de Vere and Joan his wife: and near the door, which leadeth from the same chapel, towards the shrine of Amphibal, (which had been moved from the choir to the north aisle, in the time of abbot William,) lies John Weston: *Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus* is inscribed on his grave-stone. Between his grave and the shrine of Amphibal, under a stone of marble, decorated with his figure, lieth Thomas Thornburle, formerly seneschal of this monastery (b), and recorder of London.

‘ Near the same place, and next the altar of relics, is buried Robert Trynoth, *feretrius*; who has procured many relics, and instituted that altar, and conferred thereon many sacred gifts and other ornaments; as is recorded at large in the book of our benefactors: and, near the altar of the four wax candles, is buried William Westwyck, who had procured other relics of St. Amphibal, as mandubulum, or a glove, richly adorned with silver and precious stones. There was buried also William Shepey; and in the same grave the two following; viz. Joshua Savage, under-steward and woodward; and William Alnwyck, archdeacon of this monastery: as their images, or figures, and elegant inscriptions in verse, do set forth. In the north aisle were buried many persons of note: as, before

(a) How praiseworthy had been this zeal and worship, had it been directed to a more exalted and proper object! but it was a very common thing for devout persons to choose some peculiar object for their patron, protector, mediator, and intercessor, in Heaven; and to pay to that supposed guardian all their worship, adoration, and prayer: and, indeed, this homage was generally paid to the Virgin Mary or some saint, to the total exclusion of God the Creator, and his Son the only Mediator. Thus William of Wykeham, as we learn from Lowth’s Life of him, paid peculiar reverence and devotion to the Virgin; and William Waynfleet chose for his patron and intercessor Mary Magdalen; and every altar that was erected was for the worshiping of some supposed powerful friend, who, though departed from earth, was thought to possess still a power to assist others; or an interest with God, to sway and prevail on him: a custom and notion all this, that seems borrowed from the Pagan idolaters, who worshiped men for Gods, and made or supposed a deity for every occasion.

(b) That is, properly, judge of the Hundred Court, for the abbot.

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‘ the altar of St. Patern and the apostles, lies Alan Ryxton, a great
‘ friend to this monastery. Here also was buried, near the middle
‘ altar, Sir William Blyth, knight, of the county of York ; who, on
‘ his journey to Calais, fell sick in this town, and, after a short illness,
‘ died ; and whom John Moot, then abbot, ordered to be interred in
‘ an handsome manner. Opposite the first door, and in the north aisle,
‘ below the shrine, lies Thomas Fayrend, and Alicia his wife, for-
‘ merly bailiff of this town, with a figure of him on the stone ; and,
‘ close to his grave, master Adam Atwell, *dapifer reg.* Henry IV. of
‘ great deserts towards this monastery. In the north wing, also,
‘ lieth master Nicholas Newerk, with an epitaph inscribed ; also,
‘ under a marble there, lieth Sir William Nederton, a zealous pro-
‘ moter of the public good, and very profitable to this his monastery.
‘ In the same north wing lieth Sir Hugh Langley, under a stone
‘ adorned with his epitaph : of great merit in providing relics and
‘ holy phials. Near this grave, and opposite the altar, under the bare
‘ pavement, lies our brother, William Stubbard, formerly of great
‘ praise in the art of cutting stone ; *in opere Latomiæ* (a). He made
‘ and contributed the seats in the cloisters (b), near the doors, and
‘ divers other works ; he erected fundry works in a laudable man-
‘ ner at Redburn, and others at Beaulieu ; such as will exalt his skill
‘ and fame *ad celestia*. And opposite to him was interred master
‘ Thomas Golbython, who excelled wonderfully in carved work and
‘ sculpture. In the cloister also, toward the altar, lies Richard Rew ;
‘ formerly a scribe of this monastery ; and west of him lies John
‘ Holton, the upper scribe. Below or beyond him lie the following
‘ memorable persons, Nicholas Flamstead and Thomas Pysborle,
‘ doctors of theology ; and Thomas Allisbury, A.D. who caused the
‘ windows and arches to be made in the vestry. Lower still, and
‘ within the said cloister, lies William Gobion ; at whose town (c)
‘ there had been appointed a more solemn service, *missa major*. And
‘ under two marbles, towards the North, lie Adam Paulyn, and

(a) Our author bestows on him the following distich, as if he wished to have it inscribed on a stone :

*William Fratris Stubbard lapis hic tegit ossa.
Suscitet è fossâ quæ vox Dulcissima Patris.*

(b) Probably of stone.

(c) Which was Higham Gobion, in Bedfordshire ; and which rectory at this time paid 20s. yearly to the cell at Merkyate-street.

‘ Alice

‘ Alice his wife; who, among other benefactions, had caused to ^{John VI. the} be suspended over the shrine a silver basin for receiving alms. Near ^{33d abbot.} their tomb lies Joshua Quintin, formerly master of the refectory; under a plain stone, without any epitaph. Lower, toward the west, lie William Ffymer, formerly Marshall to Thomas the abbot (de la Mare), and John Whytwell, the seneschall; Thomas Arethon; William Burcote, a famous notary; Thomas Hosteler; and Thomas Syward. Then, more toward the west, lie, under stones, with epitaphs, Joshua Whytley, and Agnes, his daughter, formerly the wife of William Parker, Esq. in the time of Thomas the abbot. Lower still lies Alan Pyron and his wife, with an epitaph; by the side of them lies Geoffrey Hereward. Then, as far as the west door of the church, (for, so far did the cloisters extend,) lies John Kyrkby; buried there, in the time of his being a learner of the law, *Juris Apprenticius*. Farther on, toward the north, is buried, under the pavement, William Herewyck, formerly master of the infirmary; and also Ralph Garden, official. Lower also, on the same west side, and opposite the door of the parlour (*locutoriæ ostium*), under a stone decorated with a figure, lies Sir Thomas Hoo, a man of high rank and excellent character. More southward, under the pavement, lies the lady Isabella, wife of Thomas daughter and heiress of Sir John St. Leger, whose benefactions found well in our records. Opposite to this, and in the entrance of the middle door of the nave of the church (where the shrine makes a stop in processions), is buried Elizabeth Pays, mother of master John Pays. And in the same nave of the church, opposite to the iron gate, which incloses the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, close to the pillar, lies Sir William Wyntysall, formerly almoner of this church, chaplain to four abbots, and cross-bearer; a man of great learning, and an attendant at the altar of St. Lawrence: he furnished St. Mary’s Chapel with books, vestments, and other ornaments, and the whole apparatus of the altar. Moreover, in the north aisle, opposite the chancel of the chapel of St. Andrew, lie Thomas Ryden and his wife, under a stone carved with their figures and epitaphs. Nearer the nave lie Thomas Hosteler and Elena his wife; who conferred on this church one house adjoining to the Maltmill of Sir John Groby, *scutiferi* Henry IV. In the nave lie William Wych, clerk and registrar; John Clobb and his wife; John Breton, marshall in the time of two abbots; and John Wood and his wife. All these have stones and inscriptions.

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‘ In the other wing toward the south, opposite the door which leads into the chapel of Thomas the abbot, before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, lies Geoffrey Stukele, formerly armiger of Edward III. and Tryfona his wife; under one stone, decorated with their figures. Nearer the altar lie John , and his eldest son; under a stone, adorned with their images. Lower to the west, lie, under two stones, Robert Thyvalt and John his relation, *armigeri* (a) to the abbots of their time and to king Edward III. In the midst of the nave lie Ralph de Veer and Robert his son, covered by the pavement only. In the Chapel of St. Mary, within an inclosure of iron, between the pillar and the wall, lies Sir John Rowland, formerly *juris apprenticius præcipuus*, afterward rector of Todyngton. Near the middle of the west door, toward the chapel of St. Andrew, and, before the image, or statue, of Reginald (b) bishop of Chichester, lieth William Wyghtman, who bore some office in the royal kitchen, (*coquinarius*,) under kings Henry V. and VI.’ Thus far my author.

The Chapel of the Virgin Mary had been built, together with its choice and splendid altar, by one Reginaldus of this town, an advocate in the Court of Rome; who managed appeals and suits made to the Papal Consistory: this pious work was completed in the abbacy of Hugo Everden, who had been elected in 1308. Thomas Westwode, chanter of this church, procured much help from the pious and faithful; and was made *custos capellæ*; and one William Boyden was the principal builder, *latomius præcipuus*. And, indeed, its dimensions and proportions are so just and beautiful, and its few decorations so simple and elegant, that the design would have done honour to a more improved age. Its length is 55 feet, its breadth 25, and its height 30; having seven beautiful windows, rich and elegant in their form, even in their present decayed state. It had a turret at each corner, and in one of these was fitted up at first (but since abolished) a small chapel (*intra turreterium*), says my author, where mass was said for the dead. At the bottom of the chapel (probably on the left hand of the entrance) was an altar of four wax lights; where two masses were constantly and

(a) Or the men of arms who were bound by the tenure of their lands to serve the King in his wars; as we have seen in the life of abbot William.

(b) This man had been an early confidant, and faithful friend, to duke Humphry; had been his chaplain, and in 1444 preferred by him to the bishopric of St. Asaph; and in 1450 promoted to Chichester. But his statue had been erected early. Persecuted for his doctrine, he died here.

daily

daily performed by the church; and other masses also, as purchased ^{John VI. the} by the deceased. There were also provided four proper wax candles, ^{33d abbot.} to be lighted every day by four officers appointed to this business; and at all times when other masses were said in memory of the abbots, John, Roger, and Hugo; which last has contributed to this pious work. There had been also an altar erected to the honour of bishop Blaze, near the steps of the north entrance: which entrance was a kind of anti-chapel to the church, and also to the Virgin's chapel; being more spacious than at present, and opening at each end into the north and south aisles of the church. This altar had been erected, by the appointment of Geoffrey, and William, and other abbots. But, though mass had been celebrated here many years, yet the whole service, together with its altar, was abolished, when my author wrote, viz. about 1440.

He says also, I will again use his own words, 'there are now, in the south wing, two chapels and two altars; one in honour of St. John the Evangelist, in which are consecrated, and preserved, an image of St. Martin, of St. Stephen, and of St. John the Baptist. In the north part of the church, viz. in the aisle, are three altars: one to St. Scytha, a virgin; where is dedicated and set up an image of St. Apollonia, a virgin; and a picture (a) representing the Blessed Mary, with St. Edmund kneeling to her, in the habit of a bishop; on this altar are the images of St. John the Baptist and of the Evangelist: another altar is to St. Wulphstan; and the third to St. Sebastian, and St. Radegund, virgin and queen. To this altar formerly belonged a fraternity of 200 men and women of the poorer sort; who were furnished with books, shoes, garments, and all necessaries, purchased with the money here given; and distributed by a priest, and a boy here attending. There was also a fraternity of more able and substantial persons, at St. Peter's Church; and another of both sorts, called by the name of St. Alban, who belonged to the altar of St. Mary, in the south wing. But these fraternities, by reason of the frequent frauds committed by some, and the ingratitude of others, and their universal variance (*distidium*), were dissolved and broken up (b). There is also another altar erected in the north aisle, by our brother William Wyntysshall, in honour of our Saviour, the Holy Virgin, St. Lawrence, and Blaze. In the front of the north-east wing, there is an altar erected to the honour of the apostles, all the

(a) Some remains of this picture are to be seen at this time on the west side of one of the piers.

(b) *Sic redit in nichilum, quod fuit ante nichil*, is the remark of my author.

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angels and arch-angels: from which altar most of the windows had been glazed, and afterwards, by means of John Hatfield, doctor in decretis, and arch-deacon, the history of St. Catharine had been set up in the glazing. At this altar are the images of St. Patern and St. Michael, which are borne in procession on their festivals. There is also an altar in the presbytery; another at the head of the abbot's shrine(a), being an altar of relics, collected and placed there by the industry of Robert Thynoth, *olim Feretrarius*, or keeper of the shrine; dedicated in honour of St. Hugo, bishop of Lincoln (b); and a third dedicated to St. Wulphstan, called *the Altar of Salutation*.'

'In St. Mary's Chapel, beside the forementioned, were three more altars; one of St. Amphibal; another of St. Edmund, king and martyr, on the north side; and one of St. Peter, on the South side; with their images and histories painted; and to these is a great resort of devout persons on their festivals, when the sacrist directs the mass. In the body of the church are three altars, situate in a row, one to the blessed Virgin, and all the apostles and confessors; the next to the blessed St. Thomas, the martyr; and the other to St. Oswyn, removed once, when decayed and worn out, but renewed by the industry of the sacrist, Thomas Houghton. There is an altar before the image of the Virgin Mary (in the south wing), erected at the expence of our brother William Wyntysshall; and, during his time, very handsomely kept up, as appears in the roll of our benefactors. In the chapel of St. Andrew (near the west door) are three altars of stone; one in the middle, to the honour of St. Andrew the apostle; another to the Virgin; and the third to the holy Reginald. In the chapel of Thomas, lord abbot (c), (in the south wing,) there is an altar to the honour of the Virgin; consecrated on the day of Vincentius the martyr. Here are images of the Blessed Virgin and of Mary Magdalen, with pictures of them hung up. Here is also an altar to St. Simeon, the bishop, with his figure in the glazed window on the east side of the said chapel. In the door of the convent, leading to the cloister, is an altar to the honour of St. Cuthbert, placed by Hugo bishop of Lincoln, above called St. Hugo, in the time of the first William the abbot (of Trumpington) in honour too of John Baptist, and St. Agnes the virgin; with their images represented in the glass.'

(a) Set up probably by Robert of Gorham, then abbot.

(b) Who died in 1200, and whose life is recorded in Goodwin.

(c) Now a dirty recess in the wall.

These altars, as to materials, were generally no other than tables made of wood (a); but they acquired a sanctity, and inspired a veneration, by being the places where the presence of God was thought more immediate and visible. For, here the devout poured forth all the thoughts of their hearts, and professed the most humble submission, and most perfect obedience, to the will of God. This manner of devotion, or communing with God, could not fail of producing good effects. But how seldom was this worship paid to the supreme Power! to God our governor, or Jesus our redeemer! and whenever it was directed to inferior beings, as it was and ever will be, where men are not taught to abstract their minds from earthly objects, this practice must lead to gross error and superstition. Small chapels, fitted up with altars, were calculated for privacy; and liable to less interruption in these solemn addresses to a superior Being; inasmuch as they give opportunity for pious reflections and all the operations of conscience. The reformers rejected these when they rejected altars, as if they were equally culpable; hoping that pews would answer the same end in public worship, and the closet in private. And indeed, with persons well instructed and rightly disposed, these latter might serve all purposes of devotion; but the generality, who are untaught, stand in need of other helps; and nothing would contribute more to fix a sense of duty, and give strength to all good motions and suggestions of conscience, than a frequent retiring from the world, and employing the mind in that solemn contemplation, which solitude in a holy place must suggest. The Papal Church relied on externals too much: the reformed rejected them too much; as if all men were as wise as themselves. If the Popish worship laid too much stress on externals, the reformers abstracted too much: whereas mankind stand in need of fundry helps, and even some sensible objects, in proportion to their spiritual understanding. And the reformed religion, as it proceeded on the foundation of better instruction, and higher mental improvements; so must it be continued, and be made to prosper, by the like means of spiritual edification. We see here six chapels; and, within and without, twenty-three altars: these were all accessible at all hours of the day and night; and were doubtless frequented by numbers of devout persons. But the worship they offered was more like the dictate of fear, than the free adoration of love and reverence. These persons were liable to great error and superstition; being taught only by a priest as ignorant as themselves, and more self-interested.

(a) See an inventory of an altar's furniture in the Appendix, N^o VII.

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The Romish Church furnished no catechisin; the preaching was declamation in favour of some faint or pretended miracle; and the prayers were uttered in a tongue not understood. What progress, therefore, is likely to be made in such a church, either in learning the true faith, or in following the right practice? Altars and chapels might be made great helps to a proper devotion; but here, for want of early instruction, they served only to increase error and superstition; and subject the votaries to a base subjection, and servile fear of their spiritual guides: whereas, the reformers provided a rational worship, founded on a knowledge of divine truth.

Soon after John's election, the bishop of Lincoln made some claims of subordination and obedience on the new abbot (a); on pretence that his interference was necessary, in order to remedy some faults in the government of the monks: but John refused compliance: and, the bishop calling to him for advice, Thomas Polton, bishop of Chichester; and king's proctor in the court (b); William Chicheley, archdeacon of Canterbury, and prothonotary to the pope; William Makworth, dean of Lincoln; Peter Parwick, doctor in theology; and Rawdun Cordon, doctor of law; on consultation, the bishop made some apology, and forbore his claims; and reconciliation was made. In the second year, viz. 1422, he directed the accounts of all the cellerers, both of the abbey and of all the cells, to be inspected, and audited by the respective priors; which was now thought the more necessary, because it had not been done ever since the death of John Moot. And it was now enjoined to be done yearly.

John of Amersham thought he possessed not only a genius for historic composition (for, these acts are written in very tolerable Latin) but also a talent for poetry; and at the end of every year he recites some verses alluding to the subject in prose; of this I will give one instance, as a specimen of my author's taste and skill:

Ex his jam gestis, pastores ! scire potestis,
Quam pecori grata sit cum ratione quotatâ
Sarcina subsidii taliter impositi.
Non sine lite prius humeris componere pondus
Vult querulus dubium, qui juribus hoc sciat equum ;
Ferre supra vires quilibet odit onus.

(a) Extracted from Cotton MS. Claud. containing the acts of John Wheathampstead during his first rule to his resignation in 1440. Compiled by John of Amersham, who was a monk here during the life of John the abbot.

(b) Perhaps of the legate, or papal officer.

In this year there came to the abbey one William Shepey ; who had ^{John VI. the} formerly been chaplain of honour, that is, bore the title of being ^{23d abt.} chaplain to the pope ; but who had wandered about the world for forty years, after flying from this monastery. He came now in great contrition, and begging to be pardoned and re-admitted : he made submission, read his recantation in public, was severely reprimanded, and re-placed. Soon after a young monk procured leave to emigrate, and settle in the Augustine Abbey at Canterbury : he was a scholar in the art of music, and therefore the more acceptable. On this, the abbot enjoined an oath to be taken by every monk for the future, that he would never depart from the monastery without licence from the abbot.

In the third year of his rule, a synod was holden at London, for electing such bishops and others as the kingdom of England should send to the Papal Council, then about to be holden at Sienna ; when eleven were appointed. The archbishop named our abbot, as the man most proper to complete the number : and, after some expressions of excuse, he consented ; and prepared, with the rest, to proceed on the journey. During his absence, the prior and rulers of the house thought proper to amend some irregularities. They ordained that all the officers of the monastery should attend in the choir, and be present during the whole service. They directed, that in the vespers, on all the great festivals, the monks and officiating persons should be clothed, for the greater solemnity, in the most costly and splendid garments. Thirdly, they ordered, that, whereas it was unseemly that on Sundays, and at all times when a great concourse of people were present in the choir, any young man, or one of a weak voice, should lead the choir ; now, as the chantor, or præcentor, was not obliged to lead, the sub-chantor should supply his place as far as the greater mass, and the weekly chantor should withdraw from his office of leading. Fourthly, they directed that the young men should carry themselves as became monks (*monachaliter*) ; not to withdraw themselves from the eye of their elders, nor pass behind the great altar, *pro illum. torciorum*, that is, on pretence of lighting the torches ; but proceed directly to the respective wax-lights, holding them in their hands until the clerks of the church shall, just before the moment of elevation, approach them with their torches : it was ordered also, that, in carrying wax-lights before the abbot, they should avoid any inclination or bending of their body ; but walk upright, in order, when in a great crowd (*cum frequentia sit*), to avoid delays. Fifthly,

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it was directed that there be every day seven fingers, in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, at the mass : and never fewer than two. That, from the lands of Bigging, within the parish of Rikelsmerfworth, there be allowed fifty shillings to defray the charge of wax candles, and twenty more, in masses for the dead. That, if fingers cannot be had or hired (*conduci*), the money shall go to the common chest. ' We injoin, also, that the master of the chapel shall have and provide for the chapel one reputable clerk, both for ministering and singing with the fingers; and the master shall cause all the surplices(a) to be washed as oft as needful. Sixthly, we ordain, that such as shall be present at the mass of the Holy Virgin, do, on the principal festivals, repair to the private chapel of St. Stephen; and, that the sub-prior do provide one guardian, or elderly person, to perform there divine service. Seventhly, it is ordained, that the young men, whenever they are sitting in the cloister, shall put aside all other occupations, and attend to reading the Scriptures. But, whenever they meet for the purpose of conversation (*in parlamento*), that they consider our constitutions, learn our usages, and behold our observances; and be not interrupted by the resort or noise of passengers. Eighthly, it is ordained that a master be provided for the instruction of the young men; and, that he may not disdain the duty, but, that a certain pay (b) may compensate his labours, it is directed that he be paid 13s. 4d. a year.' Ninthly, ' it is ordered that no brother do shew the treasury to any stranger or guest, whether clerk or lay, without the licence of the prior. Finally, it is directed, that, whereas the manor of Gorham, together with the increase of the woods, did yield a rent of 30l. yearly, the said sum should be applied, after allowing out of the same 5 marks for the common chest, in this manner: for providing so much wine as the convent should need, either for holy offices or for the health of the sick; and the remainder to be disposed in pittances, or small provisions, during the Lent fast, to be given to poor persons.'

In the fourth year of John's election, the tenants of the town, and of all the neighbourhood, supplicated the abbot for leave to pasture their cattle in the roads and by-ways round the town; claiming a right to the pasture of the highway from Stone Crouch to Nodfash, and to Mylefash; and on Barnet-wood, and Frithwood, and Dern-

(a) *Super pellicia*, or garments with hoods of lamb-skin.

(b) *Certitudinaliter*.

well-lane; and in the whole path, leading from Oisterhill as far as Kyngeſbury; then in the road leading to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonnelfwood-lane; and then, in all the ways on the eaſt of the town, and in the road leading through the middle of Eiwood, as far as Park-ſtreet; and in another way leading from Parkſtreet, by the houſe of John of Eiwood, and of Roger Howne, as far as Stankfeld-mill; and through one highway, leading from Fauntton wood to Red Croſs, through the middle of Cell barn (*orreum de Celle*). They ſay ‘theſe rights have been taken from us, *minus juridice*, and we ‘pray to have them reſtored.’ The abbot gave anſwer, that, for the part they had taken in the inſurrection, in the 5th year of king Richard, during the rebellion of Jack Straw, the parliament had paſſed an act to deprive them of all theſe rights: but, on condition that they or any of them would give ſecurity, not to offend again in the like manner, he would petition Parliament to reſtore them to the enjoyment of theſe rights.

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In the 5th year, a conteſt happened between the archbiſhop and our abbot. The archbiſhop had granted a licence to ſome forward and enterprizing prieſt, to farm the tenths of all the clergy in the counties of Hertford and Buckingham: and, this man exerciſing his power with great violence and injuſtice, the abbot oppoſed him, and expoſtulated with the archbiſhop on his wrong proceeding. The archbiſhop, who was Chicheley, anſwered, that he meant not to infringe the rights of exemption, or derogate from their privileges, or bring on them any injury or prejudice. *Given at my inn at St. Albans, January 28, 1425.*

Theſe eccleſiaſtical dues, as tenths, procurations, and ſynodals, were called, in the language of the church and canon law, *Reverentia-lia*. And great arrears of theſe happened in the courſe of a few years; and then a commiſſion was iſſued from Rome, through the archbiſhop, as legate, by which he was at this time ordered to recover; and this was done by the rules of the canon law, and by proceſs exerciſed by ſome of the church, without the leaſt aid or intervention of the civil power. Whereas, now, and ever ſince the act to abolith thoſe payments to the pope, the new law provides a method of enforcing the payment, in the ſame manner as any other debt due to the crown, viz. by the ſheriff, &c.

In the next year, John viſited the cells of Wymundham, Bynham, and Tynmouth. After ſpecial and minute enquiry into every part of their behaviour, and of their government, he required each of

John VI the 3^d abbot. the priors to make oath of fidelity to their lord abbot, and to rule without waste or alienation of the goods or land belonging to the priory; and left some special rules and directions how to govern; and confined their oath to the observance of these; and enjoined, that every officer should, once a year, account to the prior; and the prior should come, every third year, and account in presence of the abbot.

In the seventh year, our abbot thought fit to call all his clergy to a synod, in the church of St. Peter. This seemed necessary, because he had heard, that there lurked, in the parishes and churches subordinate to him, many heretical and depraved characters; which he considered but as Sampson's foxes, with firebrands tied to their tails, who would probably do much mischief in the ecclesiastical corn-fields, and could not possibly serve to any good.

In synod assembled, which consisted of few beside the vicars, he put them in mind of their strict oath of residence, and enquired how punctual they were in the observance thereof. Being answered, he asked who were allowed and permitted to preach sometimes; and who were, in their respective parishes, suspected of heretical opinions, and possessed any books written in the vulgar tongue. Three persons of the last description were named. These were summoned to appear; and, being charged with this crime, two of them cleared themselves very well; but the third, named William Redhed, a maltman of Barnet, made full confession that he had a book written in the vulgar tongue (*idiomati*), and which he had often read, and taught others to read; but that the book did teach heresy. The abbot enjoined (though his confession might merit only a rebuke, and his crime required only advice and admonition) this sentence; that he should, once every year, for seven years, visit the martyr's tomb, and approach the same barefoot; and, passing through the middle of the choir, should offer on the great altar a wax candle, of one pound weight; that, for three days succeeding every such visit, he should pass round the church-yard, every day, in the front of a procession, stripped of all his garments; and that, at his return to the parish-church, he should approach the great altar, bearing in his hand a wax-candle, and present the same on the altar, with bended knees. As a final remission of this offence, it was enjoined him, that he should bring the said book to the Great Cross (in the church), and there, with some dry faggot wood, consume the same to ashes. It is not mentioned what subject this book contained; but it is probable that it was one

of Wycliffe's translated Bibles. The abbot dismissed the synod with John VI. the exhortations to the clergy to be aware of the Lollard heretics. And ^{33d abbot.} with tears, says John Amerſham, he uttered theſe words :

Quis cohibet lacrymas, quis genas non genit udas ;
Cum Lollardinam ſectam plus Tigride ſævam
Cernit, et infanam mentem vitamque prophanam !

In the eighth year, our abbot brought to a concluſion a ſuit in the Arches Court, which had hung there ſome years, and was like to be reckoned *inter cauſas mortuas* ; wherein one Cheſelden, the rector of Horpoll, in Lincoln diocèſe, had ſued for a portion of tithes unjuſtly taken from him. The abbot entertained the judge of that court, who was Thomas Bekyngton, Dr. of Laws ; and, on his repreſenting the delays and the injury to the rector and to this church, (which was in the abbot's patronage), the judge revived the ſuit, and gave ſentence in favour of the rector.

In this ſame year, another litigation was determined. There had been a very ſerious diſpute between abbot William, the predeceſſor of John, and John Knollys, a citizen of London, and lord of Myms, concerning the ſtraying of cattle into the thrubs or wild ground of Tydenhangre (a). The predeceſſor of each had made it a practice to keep the ſtray cattle rather than derive any other advantage from them : and this had been done for ſome years paſt by turns, for one year alternately. The abbot now claimed every year's cattle, and would allow no partnership ; for, that the common, or waſte, in queſtion, was wholly in the lordſhip of Tydenhangre ; and put Knollys in mind, that he, the abbot, and ſervants of the abbey, had a right of way through the fields and incloſures of the ſaid Knollys (b), to the manor of Northaw. And the abbot propoſed to relinquish all claim of a road, or common highway, through the lands of Knollys, provided he would grant leave to the abbot to incloſe that part of the common. To this Knollys aſſented ; and an indenture was drawn to this effect (c). This conteſt being happily terminated, and all demands thus ſettled, the abbot ſtraight cauſed the ground to be cleared, and the buſhes, &c. ſtocked up ; and on the eaſtern ſide thereof he cauſed a good ditch to be made, and ſet up a ſtrong pale

(a) *Pro fugatione animantium in Bruerâ de Tylenh.*

(b) Who then lived where the preſent duke of Leeds inhabits.

(c) See Appendix, N^o VIII.

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fence, to the utter exclusion of all cattle: then he gave attention to the western side of his inclosure; and, by clearing the ground, he made it, from bearing nought but weeds, and thistles, and briers, to become very good pasture. He then considered the state of the meadows and pastures situate near to the mansion-house; and, calling to him all the tenants, who by copy of court-roll held those meadow and pasture lands, he persuaded them to give up their respective rights for a compensation; which being paid them, he made a strong fence of hedge and ditch round the same, and thus rendered the place of his abode and delight more safe and pleasant as well as more secret and private for walking; and, moreover, stocked the new inclosed land with deer (a).

In the year 1431, another contest was determined, which had perplexed the abbot and convent for many years. They had a tenant of their manors at Rickmersworth, one William Fleete; who had declined or refused to pay quit-rents, or perform the accustomed and covenanted services for some years; and who went on fighting all demands, &c. The abbot claimed homage and fealty for the manors of the Moor, Asheles, Bitwell, and Batchworth; which he asserted to be holden of him, in right of his church, by military service; and the service of paying annually to the church twenty-one shillings and six pence; that is to say, for the manor de la More, 10s. 10d. for Asheles, 7s. 4d. for Britwell, 1s. 8d. and for Batchworth, 1s. 8d. and, by the service of one Heriott, for the manor of La More, to be paid after the decease of every tenant holding the said manor; and by the service of finding for the abbot, and his successors, one nag-horse, to carry him to Tinmouth, whenever he or they should visit that cell. On the other hand, William Fleete claimed to hold, as parcel of his manor of La More, one messuage, and two acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Rickmersworth, which belonged to the office of sacrist in this church. He demanded also, in lieu of 12d. paid yearly to the abbot in his view of Frankpledge, for Blakehide, in Rickmersworth, the said hide of land; and one acre of meadow in Aldeburymede, in Watford, called Blakettes, of 6s. 8d. rent; with all appurtenances issuing out of forty acres of land, and one toft, in Crokefley; and 12d. rent, issuing out of a certain parcel of meadow in Brytwell Moor; which the said William claimed against the abbot. So long ago as the 5th year of Henry VI. the parties

had consented and agreed to refer the matters in dispute to the judgement and decision of William Babington, knight, chief justice of the Common Pleas; who, taking with him another judge of the same court, named John Cotesmore, came down to the abbey, in the week after Trinity Sunday; and, assembling all parties and witnesses to the Chapter House, there sat in solemn form; and, after due hearing, gave judgement, and adjusted all the claims of each party; but with exceeding joy to the abbot and convent on having judgement against Fleete, and in compelling him to acknowledge homage and fealty for the four manors aforesaid. This homage Fleete was obliged to pay to the abbot, in the presence of Sir William Babington, and Thomas Ashwell, D. D. with orders to pay the aforesaid quit-rent, and other small acknowledgements on other accounts.

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About this time, the abbot appointed, that a certain chest should be provided, and to be kept in the care and charge of three chosen brethren, for the reception of all odd sums and small donations. This was intended to be laid up, and to be considered as a kind of sacred deposit, not to be used or applied to any ordinary occasions. To this fund was assigned all sum or sums which any monk might possess at his death; and the tenth penny of all donations above a certain value; also 3l. 6s. 8d. from the manor of Gorham, to be paid annually by the bailiff of the same; also, all the rents and profits of the united cell of Beaulieu; the rents of all the lands of Legattes, in Walden; of Runfel, in Hexton; of Pekfitheles, in Barnet; of Squillers, in New-lane, in this town; of Butterwyk, in Sleaf; and of Harpsfield, in the lordship of Park; and the rents of a house in Aldersgate-street, belonging to one Alan Bryt. These sums were to be applied to repairs: and he ordained a new officer, for the purpose of surveying and inspecting their buildings, to be called the *master of the works*; whose duty it should be to supply and provide all materials and labour, under the direction, and by the leave and consent, of the three keepers of the chest. In the rules laid down for this master of the works, he is first charged to complete and finish four suits of copes, of white, and green, and red, for the credit of the church; and to provide all silver or gold vessels or utensils, needful for the convent; then to provide, yearly, twelve small torches, to be borne on the Feast of the Holy Communion (*Salutaris viatici*); and twelve larger torches, to be borne before the shrine of Alban, in the procession made on his day; and twelve wax-lights, to stand on the sepulchre of our Lord, on the day of his passion, and there to remain

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remain burning. He is then directed to add to each monk priest one penny to their former salary of 40 pence; to the end that, in their prayers for the former abbot John, they might have a more especial remembrance, and use a more intense recommendation of his soul to the Throne of Grace. This was to be done on the Feast of the Resurrection, and on the day of St. Michael the Archangel; and on the same day pittances of wine and meat should be given to the convent; and also to the poor at the gate one penny each: and, that there be paid, on that day, to the nuns of Sopwell, 43s. 4d. in full discharge of the annual pension given to them by the duchess of Clarence. Then it is directed, that some relief be given, if needful, to the poor priors in their cells, or to the scholars in their studies, if they wanted support and encouragement. And, having comprized all his orders in seven rules, the abbot directed the book containing them to be laid up in the archives, and to be sealed with seven seals; and denounced *anathema* on any person who should hereafter violate or infringe these laws: and the chest was delivered to the custody of the three guardians. This transaction is dated the 1st of March, 1430.

In the next year, our abbot received much grief and vexation from a proceeding of William Alnwyke, bishop of Norwich, and collector of the pope's tenths. He had now demanded tenths of the prior of Bynham; and, being also keeper of the king's privy seal, he had an interest and authority that made him very potent, and, of course, very formidable. The prior refused to pay, or even to receive the collector into his cell. This enraged the great courtier, and threats followed. The abbot, being informed, took part with his prior, and justified the refusal on the score of exemption. However, the bishop would accept no apology or plea, much less any rational or legal ground of excuse on account of privilege; and sued the prior in the Exchequer. He made also the archbishop of York a party with him: and more than a year passed before any determination could be had, the bishop trying, by all possible pretence or semblance of law, to overthrow the Convention. And to this purpose the bishop, though employed by the pope, and governing himself by the laws of the church, as would be supposed, founded his pretensions and claims on the law of the land; and contended, by these means, to set aside the exemption: and John defended the exemption by the authority of the church law. Much writing passed between the parties, and much argument was delivered in court; but no determination

mination was given. And the bishop tried another method to gain his point; which was, by causing a man of Rickmersworth to be prosecuted, for defamation, in the archdeacon's court; whence he moved an appeal to the court of arches, and hoped to obtain such a sentence as should overthrow the exemption, presuming that he could govern the conscience and sentence of that judge: and, in this appeal, he had made the vicar of Rickmersworth a party, and subjected him to infinite trouble, vexation, and expence. This bishop then procured himself to be made archdeacon of the exempt monastery of St. Alban,—probably by secret influence at Rome; and, in that character, tried the defamer and his wife in his court. He then gave sentence of excommunication against the woman; and published an universal order to forbid her entrance into any church; but citing her to appear peremptorily before him, in his conventual church of St. Alban, on the 9th of December, 1433, to shew cause why more grievous penalties and censures should not be inflicted. He then procured the dean of the arches, (whose name was Lynfelde,) as vicar general to the archbishop, to excommunicate the vicar of Rickmersworth, named Henry Burwash. The first man, the defamer, had been excommunicated, and had fled. But Alwyke procured the king's writ for his apprehension, and lodged him in Hertford goal. Here he lay a whole year; when at length he craved mercy, and was forgiven. But the bishop no more urged the question about the exemption: and thus saved his credit, as he hoped to persuade others, by taking revenge on a poor helpless wretch; in prosecuting whom, his first demands and claims were sunk quite out of sight, and lost.

The low and impoverished state of the cell of Beaulieu, situate in Bedfordshire, now called forth our abbot's attention. The number of monks therein were but four, and their yearly income was no more than 8l. on which the abbot thought of uniting this cell to the abbey, and bringing away the monks to his monastery: but, to this purpose, it was necessary to have the consent of the first founder; and this being Reginald Grey, lord Hastyngs, he no sooner learned the intentions of the abbot than he consented; and the following deed was signed by him. ‘ Know, all men, by these presents, that I, ‘ Reginald de Grey, Lord of Hastyngs, Weisford, and Rythin, have ‘ remitted, forgiven, and entirely, for myself and my heirs for ever, ‘ have quitted claim to the abbot of St. Alban, and the prior of ‘ Beaulieu, (a cell of the said abbey,) and their successors, all right,
X x ‘ title,

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title, and claim, which I have or might have, in the patronage or advowson of the above-mentioned cell. So that neither I nor my heirs shall ever in future be able to require, exact, or vindicate, any right or claim in the same; but that we may be for ever shut out from all action of right, title, and claim, by these presents.

In witness of which transaction, I have affixed my seal unto these presents (a). Given at Wurst on the 12th day of May, 1435.

The abbot and convent stipulate, on their part, to solemnize an anniversary to pay for Reginald, and to set apart the 16th, 17th, and 18th, days of March, to be observed with *cum placebo et dirige*; and, on the next day, with the mass *de requie* at the great altar. And to give 20s. yearly to Reginald, as an acknowledgment to the lord.

But, before the abbot could finally complete this little work, he thought it necessary to consult the pope. And this shews, not only his prudence in guarding against the malice of enemies, but also how strong an hold the pope possessed in all ecclesiastic property and rule in this country. In the letter on this subject, the abbot says, that he had consulted the *jurisperiti*, and sought to know whether *Inconsulto pontifice Romano, prelati ordinarius, dummodo staret cum eo etiam patronus, ecclesiam unam annectere alteri, vel unire, posset?* and promising that, out of the slender rent of 8l. a year, the pension to the young scholars at Oxford should be augmented. To all this the pope consented: but soon after a popular clamour rose against this act, saying, that it tended to overthrow religion, and exterminate devotion. And, in a short time, the king's escheator came down, and required the abbot to shew his title to the land; and obliged him to shew his title of right by giving answer in the king's exchequer: and, as nothing more is said of this suit, it is probable the escheator dropped it.

In the 17th year, our abbot had a very vexatious suit with Richard, abbot of Westminster: which, though it arose about trifling losses, yet serves to shew how much it was the custom and usage of the time, for men to seek redress of grievances from the lord of the fee, against his tenants, rather than by complaint to the civil power, and proceeding to a trial at law before a jury.

The abbot of Westminster asserted and complained, that some tenants of the abbot of St. Albans had stopped on the highway, in

(a) Writing being an art little known, and seldom acquired in these times, the testimony was given by a seal; and this accounts for the high honour, credit, and proper assurance, given to armorial bearings.

the parish of Aldenham, 28 horses, laden with malt, and travelling with the same to the convent at Westminster; and had thrown down the sacks, and damaged the goods, and injured the horses, to the damage of 100l.; that his tenants had been arrested in the town of St. Alban, and 8 horses seized, detained, impounded, starved, and injury done to the amount of 40l.; and that the tenants of abbot John, from his manor of Sandrugge, had torn down, destroyed, and carried away, sundry stakes and rails, and other boundary-posts, on the common, called No-manston, which Richard asserted to be in their parish and manor of Whethamstead; and that his tenants had ever enjoyed there a right of common. Abbot John answered, that the horses had been stopped, and the goods distrained, because the drivers had refused to pay the accustomed toll; that he and his predecessors had ever received one penny per quarter of the buyer, and one penny of the seller; and this by the grant of Henry I. who had allowed and permitted the abbot to hold a market; and that, at No-manston, the men of Whethamstead had been intruders and trespassers; for, that the place was in the parish of Sandrugge, and in the manor there belonging to St. Alban. These reasons gave no satisfaction to Richard, and he threatened a suit at law against the offenders: on which John brought an action in the Common Pleas, in vindication of his right to toll.

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The next spring and summer proved so injurious to the crops of corn that a famine was apprehended, and the price rose very high; and the common food of bread was made of beans, peas, barley, and oats. The abbot had suffered also great expences in their manor of Burston and of Radwell. And these circumstances induced John to stop here, and urge the suit no farther; and thus it stood, ready to be prosecuted, in case the tenants of Westminster would not comply to the demand of toll. John resigned in 1440; but he renewed not this suit, though his tenants were still vexed, as will be seen in the sequel.

Many donations of lands had been made in late years to the abbey by pious persons, such as Newlane, consisting of 1 messuage, 3 tofts, 169 acres, and 10s. 3d. rent in money; and lying in Childwyk, Park, Sandrugge, and this town; by John Bernwell, Edmund Westby, and Matthew Besfet; the estate of Squillers, containing 120 acres, situate in this town and in Childwyk; the manor of Betturwyk; the manor of Legates, in Walden; and of Haunselles, in Hexton. But, by reason of the statute of Mortmain, the gift could not be completed, nor could a good title be made by the receiver; for, the

John VI. the king's escheator was always watchful and ready to take advantage of these sham conveyances; and, by thus recovering for the Crown, (for, all such estates were forfeited, and he could at pleasure call any man to prove his title,) he not only made a good profit for himself, but derived credit to the crown by defending its privileges. How then could our abbot avail himself of these pious donations? He suffered them to be forfeited, and seized by the escheator; and begged them as a donation from the king; and now, in the 18th year, he got the royal grants of all these estates; and the deeds were executed in the presence of Sir William Babyngton, chief justice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Crossy, knight; John Hotoft; Thomas Frowyk (a), Esq. and many others assembled for this purpose. And the king's grants conclude in these words, *Statuto, de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, non obstante. Teste meipso*. The abbot thought himself not safe, although he had obtained the above grants, (by his interest probably with the duke of Gloucester, then protector,) and therefore he besought the king to grant him a full pardon. This pardon was granted in the Parliament then sitting;

(a) This was a family of great repute for many years; and had their dwelling at the Old Fold, in the parish of South Myms, and opposite to Hadley. The first of the name whom I find mentioned is as early as the reign of Henry III. when the frier minors were settling in Newgate-street, and the citizens were building their church, &c. The conduit was built at the charge of Henry Frowyk and Henry Basynges, knight.

The next who is mentioned was Thomas de Frowyk (*MS. in lib. Ben. Col.*), clerk of the market at Barnet (and probably seneschal and steward of the manor) in the time of Thomas de la Mare, anno 31 Edward III. and an inquisition taken before him apud Chepyng Barnet.

There are more of them mentioned in the reign of Henry VI. as witnesses and arbitrators between John Whethampstead, and Thomas Knollys, of North Myms, son of Robert Knollys. A daughter of the said Robert was married to Henry Frowyk, in Richard the IInd's time; and their daughter was married to John Coningsby, and brought the Myms estate to the family of Coningsby. Thomas Frowyk, son of Henry, was called to the degree of serjeant at law in the time of Henry VII. and in the 21st of Henry VII. was chief justice of the King's Bench.

In the time of Henry VIII. the family of Frowyk were still in repute and high rank in South Myms, Henry Frowyk having built one of the windows of that church, in 1526, as appears by the painted glass in the window, wherein is represented this man, his wife, and children, kneeling; and this inscription, *This made Henry Frowyk, 1526*. He was buried in this church; with a character, &c. in Latin.

In the time of Henry V. Henry Frowyk possessed the manor of William, lived there, and married Anne, the daughter of Robert Knollys, of North Myms, as above.

In 1589 Henry Frowyk was made steward of the new corporation; and, in 1600, Henry Frowyk represented this town in Parliament. See a Pedigree in Chauncey.

and

and probably could not be granted without the consent of Lords and Commons. But John certainly meant not to be pardoned in so many crimes as are herein mentioned; and it hurt him more to be pardoned for great crimes, and such as he was conscious he had not committed, than to have stood condemned, or accused at least, of some small ones. However, the pardon must be received, as he had fought it; and the tenor of it ran thus: ‘ We have pardoned unto the said John, ‘ abbot of St. Alban, the suit of our peace, which belongs unto us, ‘ against him, for all treasons, murders, rapes, rebellions, insurrections, felonies, conspiracies; and other transgressions, offences, ‘ negligences, extorsions, misprisions, ignorances, contempts, concealments, and deceptions, by him in any wise perpetrated before ‘ the 2nd of September, in the 20th year of our reign; and also any ‘ outlawry that shall have been published against him on these occasions. Provided, nevertheless, the said abbot appears not to be ‘ conversant in the mystery of coining, nor be a multiplier of coinage, nor a washer of gold and silver, nor a clipper of our money, ‘ nor a common approver, nor a notorious thief, nor a felon who had ‘ abjured the realm. But so, that he stand *rectus in curia nostra*, if ‘ any one should question him in the premises.’

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The abbot had also received, in 1425, as a legacy from one Alan Bret, in London, a malthouse and mill, situate in Aldersgate-street. The manor of Harpsfield had been seized by the escheator, on the death of John Harpsfield the father, and the infirmity of the son, who was an idiot; and, in this case, the king was heir (a). But, in the 8th year of his reign, he had ordered his escheator to release and set at liberty his escheat, and surrender the same to the abbot; to whom, as lord, the said manor had and did belong. It is described as containing one hide and 43 acres of land. This latter part was called le Braches.

He had received also an estate in Barnet, that had belonged to John Pekesythell, in the 10th of this king's reign; and he had lately obtained the king's grant of this estate, to the utter exclusion of the heir and all the relations.

In the 16th of Henry, the abbot had obtained the manor of Burston, by procuring the king to give licence to Sir John Ffray, chief baron of the Exchequer, to concede and grant this manor of Burston to the abbot and convent of St. Alban for ever.

(a) Ratione fatuitatis et idiocie.

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This manor was held of this church by the said baron, and now he was prevailed on by the king to give it back, and relinquish all right and title therein, provided it did not exceed 20 marks in value per annum, above reprisals; and the consideration, on the abbot's part, was, that prayer should be made for the good health of the king during his life, and for his soul after death! and also for the support of certain spiritual burdens and duties, for the souls of the said Ffray, his parents, and friends. And the grant concludes that this shall be done, *statuto de terris et tenementis ad mortuam manum non obitante*; and provided that, when our escheator shall make inquisition in that county, it shall be accounted and deemed, that the said manor is not held immediately of us. Witness ourself at Eltham, December 20, 16 regni.

In the 17th of Henry, our abbot obtained the manor of Radwell, by the like interest with the king, and of the same baron, Sir John Ffray. This manor is said, in the grant, to contain 3 messuages, 260 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of pasture; and to be holden of John Barre, Esq. by fealty and service of paying to him 2s. 11d. yearly. The said Ffray grants also at the same time 13 acres lying in Norton, and holden of this abbey; 'the value of the said manor with the messuages, and all the said lands, not exceeding 15l. a year, as it was found on the inquisition of our escheator, Nicholas Morley, and returned so to our chancery.' These grants were made on the like conditions of prayer, &c. as if such holy services could not have been performed for Ffray, and others, unless he surrendered his lease; and not for the king, unless some of his subjects purchased them at their private costs.

These grants and liberalities to the abbot had been effected by the favour of Humphry, duke of Gloucester, and his secret influence with the king, his council, and parliament. But the abbey bore more ostensible marks of the said duke's generosity to John; for, in the course of a few years past, he had given many very costly vestments for the use of the choir; as a frontal, or large hanging, to be suspended over the altar; and another frontal, to be hung lower, having its field of gold, with divers images and very precious pearls interwoven. There was also one complete suit, or apparatus, for the priest, the deacon, and the sub-deacon; likewise one upper frontal of a gold field, in which was interwoven the history of the Holy Ghost, with images of divers saints; also one large hood, of a golden field, in which is interwoven the history of Christ's Baptism, attended by many of the saints. There was also another complete suit for the priest,

priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, with five hoods belonging to it of tiffue cloth, of red crimson velvet; all which had gold fringe interwoven with embroidery. There was also a complete suit for the priest, of the white cloth of satin, interwoven with the sun and roses, and powdered with figures (a) and embroidery.

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The bishop of Lichfield, William Heyworth, who had been John's predecessor in the abbatic chair, had given to this church divers books; as one large missale, beginning in the 2d page, *aquæ dignanter*; and ending in the last page with *secula seculorum, amen*; to lie in such part of the church as had the greatest resort of strangers and of neighbours. He gave also a large portable missale (b); and 10 hoods, a chasuble, and tunics.

The duchess of Clarence, named Margaret, and who was one of the pious sisters at Sopwell, had given two thuribles, for burning incense and perfumes; and one complete suit for the altar, so large, that it should be able *adornare tam subtus quam infra satis honorifice*. This was accompanied with 1 chasuble, and 3 hoods, and two tunics for the dress of the priest. John Cornwaille also, lord of Wauchope, had given one chasuble of a gold cloth, with a strong green ground, and having a gold fringe; also 2 tunics, in which the priests used to stand at the altar, and 3 hoods for the singers in the choir. These donations were always accompanied with a deed in form, (signed by the donor, and attested,) signifying the articles of his benevolence, and the reasons moving him thereunto. And Cornwaille says, 'that out of the mammon of plunder which he had taken 'in the war, and by violence, from our enemies, he presented these 'things for the ornament of our churches;' and dates his gift at his manor of Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, September 4, 1430. And in 1451, the Lady Anna Tirell, of Stokebrewern in Suffex, gave a golden cup, enriched on the foot with various gems and pearls; praying, in the grant, that such a 'sacrifice may be made in the same ' (being intended for the Eucharist) as may be acceptable to the holy 'abbot, and obtain for her remission of all her sins.'

Our abbot had expended much money in repairs and decorations of the abbey, beside the necessary buildings to be erected or repaired on the estates of the abbey. And his historian recounts, in the 19th year of his rule, many of his principal works, as follows. He had laid out, in beautifying and new-painting the Virgin's Chapel, above

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40l. In the church, and near the shrine, he erected a small chapel, (the same in which he was afterwards buried,) and fitted up the same for the celebration of the mass; and herein he expended, as it is said, above 74l. In the west end of the choir he set up a kind of wooden gallery for the reading of the gospel; and this cost above 73l. In the choir also he erected 4 steps; and raised the ground above, and where the altar stood and the shrine; and this cost above 20l. In writing books for the antiphonars, during his time, he expended 4l. He provided also a new set of organs (a), which cost 17l. At the west end of the church he caused a certain stone window to be cut out from the north side, and to be carried away, and the place to be walled up; and this cost 27l. And, that this church might stand at the right hand of her spouse, like a queen in a vesture of gold, he had expended, in hoods and chasubles, in basons, cups, and thuribles, in a mitre and staff, and various other ornaments, above 640l. He caused great repairs and new works in the glazing, and this to the amount of 10l. He built the infirmary *de novo*, and repaired the chapel adjoining; and these works had cost 564l. He built also that handsome chamber which extends from the said chapel to the passage leading from the kitchen to the prior's chamber; and in this work expended 300l. In the refectory, and in the clock-house, he expended, in plates, cups, (whereof one was myrrhine,) and in salts, and spoons (b), 26l. In new covers for the beds he had expended 5 marks. In improving the chamber between the chapel and the hall, and amending the paved walk from that chamber to the hall, in enlarging the abbot's study, in better securing the wardrobe, and in widening the inner court, he had expended above 126l. And, in furnishing the said wardrobe (which was only a store-room), he had expended 100l. in basons, cups, ewers, boiling-pots, porringers, and plates. And, for the use of the abbot's private chapel, he had provided one pontific habit; which had cost 7 marks. Beside this, he had repaired the stone gate opposite the great cross; and built 6 houses in the vintry, and 3 more opposite the great gate, or goal, and 3 more in Fishpool-street; and this had cost 565l. He built also 2 barns, and 1 pigeon-house, at Wynflow; a third new barn, and a large house for laying up malt, he built at Newnham; a fourth new barn and a stable he built at Legattes; a fifth barn he built at St. Machates; a new barn (the 6th), and a cow-house, he built at Harpi-

(a) Par organorum.

(b) Cochlearia.

field; and a 7th new barn he built at Squillers. In these and other repairs at Tydenhangre, Threhowfes, Radewell, and Rickmersworth, he expended 580l. In London he had repaired their hostle, and also the building in Aldersgate-street; and this had cost 85l. At Oxford he had built a library, and erected a chapel for the use of the young monks there in their studies, and also enclosed their garden: and this had cost 108l. John VI. the
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The abbot and all his predecessors, had kept the vicarage house at Redburn for the dwelling of the priest who officiated there; though it is uncertain at what former time that vicarage was constituted and endowed. But they had made the same a place of resort for sick monks, to receive the benefit of ease and fresh air. And it was now ordained, by John, that four monks should always be dwelling here; and be attended by two priests who could chant (a); that the four should take it by turns, and be relieved by other four; and so give a respite (such as it was) to the whole choir. Their duty was, to do more ample honour to Amphibal, by celebrating a degree of choir service every day to his memory. It was appointed, that these four should be allowed for their week's service, and to purchase provisions, &c. the sum of 9s. for their common table, to be paid by the master of the works, who probably lived at Redburn, and had lately repaired the church. And the two priests were unlimited in their salary; and to be paid by the usual allowance given to travelling members.

When the men of Wheathamstede committed the trespasses aforementioned on No-Mans-Land, and the steward and servants of the abbey remonstrated against the deed, the aggressors still persisted in the justness of the fact; and, in justifying themselves in the outrage, they threatened to do the like; and still asserted the place to be comprehended within the limits of their parish and their manor. And moreover, the abbot of Westminster ordered the servants of John to be indicted in the court of the Marshalsea; and, in June 1442, (the 20th of John's rule,) the cause came to be heard before William earl of Suffolk, steward of the king's household; and John duke of Norfolk, marshal of the same household. It was adjourned to Ware; and, on June 28, a jury gave verdict for the defendants; and said, that neither Robert Bellamy, nor Matthew Bepset, (who had pulled up or cut down the stakes, and carried them away,) were in any re-

(a) Bene cantantes clericos.

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spect culpable; and that the stakes were not of the value of 2s. as laid in the record. But neither judge nor jury presumed to say in which parish the land lay, and who had a right to fix stakes and boundary-marks. And the same name it formerly had was now more justly continued; although the lord of Whethampstede might have brought that question to a determination, had he so pleased. But he did not vindicate his pretended right to the land, by pleading that it lay within the bounds of his manor, and was part and parcel thereof; but by asserting his right to fix bounds between the 2 manors, and to destroy all such marks as any other might judge to be just and true.

While this suit was depending, the abbot thought that he might possibly be able to repel all the darts and arrows, which malice and envy had often shot against him, by procuring a renewal of the grant, or charter, which constituted the liberty, and made him the hundreder, and his seneschal the judge, and his abbey intitled to the fines and forfeitures. And this grant he got renewed, with all the powers contained therein, which Henry I. had granted to abbot Geoffry. And the same is inserted at length by Amersham, in a MS. marked Cotton—Claud. D. 1.

He had now ruled the abbey 20 years; and began to think of resigning this high office, induced by divers considerations. He first complained of ill health, and a worn out constitution: he found also, that these frequent litigations had constantly given him immense care and fear; and, though successful, he had suffered great expence, and had ever considered a law-suit as a matter of mere chance, and its issue to be among the sports of fortune. He found himself also the pointed object of envy; and, perhaps, his great friend at court, the protector, had lost somewhat of his popularity, and might decline in power. He resolved therefore to resign the rule of this abbey: when he signified his intentions to the officers and brethren, they used many arguments to dissuade him; but he had formed his resolution, and still deemed it prudent; and, on the 26th of November, 1440, signed a paper to that effect, in presence of a certain clerk, named Matthew Bepfet, and the other officers of the house.

That the interest of the duke of Gloucester was declining at court is abundantly proved by the history of those times: for, in this year of 1440, it appears, that the unnatural enmity of his uncle, the bishop cardinal, was able to prevail against him in the king's council; and he procured the release of the duke of Orleans, (who had been made prisoner at Agincourt, and confined in England ever since,) against

the advice and remonstrance of duke Humphry. From the same source of enmity sprang a charge and prosecution of the duchess in 1441; wherein she was accused of using sorcery and witchcraft, to shorten the king's life, and thus make way for the duke's advancement to the throne. She could not be convicted of this species of high treason; but was sentenced to undergo certain penances in St. Paul's church: and some of her pretended accomplices were really put to death. History says, that the duchess was examined on this charge by some of the bishops (who were deemed the best judges of witchcraft) in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster.

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In proportion as the duke's interest declined, that of the bishop advanced with both king and council; insomuch, that the council was filled with the creatures of the latter. Then was introduced William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, at the recommendation of the bishop: and this man secretly negotiated the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou; the daughter of a mere titular prince, without territory, court, or revenue. But one condition of the match was, that Henry should yield up to the French king the whole county of Maine; which had ever been considered as a barrier of security to Normandy. Gloucester opposed this ignominious alliance, but to no purpose; for, the cardinal and council carried the same into effect; and the young queen came over, in 1445. This addition to the cardinal's interest enabled him and Suffolk to determine to get rid of the duke; and, in the year 1447, he was charged with high treason, in conspiring the king's death, in order to seize the crown: but, instead of a trial, he was found, next morning, dead in his bed. This happened in the abbey at St. Edmundsbury, where the court had chosen to assemble, as in a more private place than at London. The nation clamoured: but the power of the great defied the complaints and the justice of man. However, Providence seems to have revenged his death, in that utter ruin which fell on the king, queen, and all the nobility: for, Gloucester being dead, the people cast their eye on the duke of York, as being the next legitimate heir; spoke of his merit and ability; asserted his right; and thus raised up a terrible enemy, and a most destructive civil war.

This beginning of troubles was well discerned by our abbot. And he had reason to think, that the duke's foes would carry their malice to the injury and ruin of his friends: and, as he manifestly shared in that benevolence and goodness which the duke bore to all good men, he feared he should be exposed to that same virulence which had

John VI. the 33^d abbot. trampled on him. It was therefore very prudent to retire, like the yielding bull-rush, from the fury of the approaching storm. And, descending to the condition of a private monk, he saw with deep regret and indignation, (though with safety to himself,) the storm I have described break on the head, and overwhelm the life, of his dearest friend, lord, and benefactor.

JOHN STOKES.

John VII. the 34th abbot. The successor whom the convent chose in his room was John Stoke, prior of Wallingford, of whom not a line of regular history remains, nor I believe was written; although they had in their company many men, at this time, of competent learning, beside Wallingham, who was the historiographer. But, as nothing good or praiseworthy could be said of him, they probably forbore to record any thing. And by the choice of this man, who was the very reverse of Wheathampstead, I think they meant to shield themselves from the like envy and odium which his virtues had excited. If he had with courage recovered their rights, and baffled the power and usurpations of the great, and had given the world an idea of strength and pre-eminence in this church, they thought it prudent to check that rising opinion; and, instead of greatness, to appear low and depressed; and, in these days of danger, forbear to have an active head and leader.

It is possible that the prudence of Wheathampstead might suggest counsel of this sort: and they could not have found a man more fit and proper for this silent and quiet conduct; for, Stoke had seen nothing of the world, nor been in the least degree conversant in its business, but had passed his days in the rule of a small priory. He was, therefore, not only without experience, but without inclination or capacity, for the business of ruling and exercising high authority. He seems to have had no crimes or evil propensities; but his indolence, or ill judgement, or submissive behaviour to the officers whom he found here, seem to be the source of his ill government. We are in-

informed of all this by what appears in the second rule of Wheat-^{John VII. the} hampstead when he strove to rectify these irregularities, rather than by ^{34th abbot.} any specific charge brought against Stoke. He suffered the officers to defraud, cheat, embezzle, contract debts; and, by his negligence, the cells were ready to cast off all allegiance; and this did actually happen at Wymondham: all discipline was at an end, and the monks ran away. He threw all concern and care of management on the arch-deacon, as thinking him the most at leisure, and of high authority, to govern all the rest, and oversee their conduct: this was William Wallingford, who came afterward to be abbot; and this man Stoke called his official general, a new title when applied to secular concerns.

One of the principal events of John Stoke's time was the death and burial of Humphry, duke of Gloucester, in 1447. And that he was interred in this church, the following is a full proof, being an account of their yearly charge, and dated 1450 (a).

' In this schedule be contained the charges and observances appointed by the noble prince Humphry, late duke of Gloucester, to be perpetually borne by the abbot and convent of the monasterie of St. Alban. First, the abbot and convent of the said monasterie have paid for making the tombe and sepulture of the said duke, within the said monasterie, above the sum of 433l. 6s. 8d.

' Item, to 2 monks priests daily serving messe at the auter of sepulture of the said prince, everich of them taken by the day 6 pence; sum thereof by the hole yere, 18l. 5s. 0d.

' Item, to the abbot there, yerely, the day of anniversary of the said prince, attending his exequies, 10l. 0s. 0d.

' Item, to the prior there, yearly, attending the same day in lyke wyse, 10l.

' Item, to 40 monks priests yerely, the said day, to everich of them the same day, 6s. 8d. Sum thereof, 13l. 6s. 8d.

' Item, to 122 monks, not priests, the said day yerely, to everich of them, 3s. 4d. Sum, 20l. 6s. 8.

' Item, to the autresses at St. Peter Church, and St. Michael, the said day, yerely, to everich, 20s.

' Item, in money to be distribute to pore people there, the said day, 40s.

' Item, to 13 pore men, beryng torches about the sepulture, the same day, 2s. 2d.

(a) Vide Cott. MS. Claud. 8.

' Item,

John VII. the 34th abbot. { ' Item, for wax brennyng daily at his masses, and his said ———
' and of torches yerely, 6l. 13s. 4d.
' Item, to the kechyn of the convent there yerely, in relief of the
' grete decay of the livelode of the said monasterie in the marches of
' of Scotland, which before time hath be appointed to the said
' kechyn, 6ol.'

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD re-chosen (a).

John VI. re-chosen. { John the VIIth (Stoke) died in 1451, and was buried in a very
honourable manner on the north side of the presbytery. Some pro-
posed William Albon, the prior, as a man of letters, and of civilized
manners, and hospitable. Others proposed William Wallingford, as
being a man who had served all the great offices, as burfar, cellerer,
and forester; and was then archdeacon. On application to the king
for leave to elect, they obtained the same; and the 17th of Ja-
nuary was appointed, and the following persons were then present, in
chapter:

William Albon, *prior and doct̃or in decretis.*

John Whethampstead, *fac. paginæ professor.*

John Peyton, *doct̃or in decretis, and prior of Wallingford.*

Robert Ware.

William Dunstaple.

Robert Baener.

Peter Waleys.

Thomas Sudbury.

Robert Dunsbey, *coquinarius.*

(a) This History of John's second rule is chiefly extracted from a book, called
Regist. Rob. Blakeney. Capellanus dom. Tho. Ramridge, in the library of the heralds
office; which begins thus,

Hic prælaturæ Whethamstede pauca secundæ,
More registrantis, scribuntur gesta Johannis.

Nicholas

Nicholas Bonde.
 Thomas Westwode, *prior of Redburne*.
 William Wellys, *third prior*.
 Nicholas Wellys, *prior of Bynham*.
 John Wellys, *prior of Hertford*.
 William Bywell, *sub-prior*.
 Nicholas Geywode, *custos feretri*.
 Gregory Wynwyk, *prior of Hatfield*.
 Richard Ruffill, *almoner (eleemosyn)*.
 John Wyly, *sacrist*.
 Robert Crofton.
 John Langton, *prior of Tinnmouth*.
 Richard Waltham, *sub-refectionarius*.
 Rowland Breton.
 William Blakeney.
 Thomas Inton, *præcentor*.
 John Eyton.
 Thomas Blakenale.
 Thomas Albon, *custos novæ ordinationis*.
 Thomas Wallingford, *sub-eleemosyn*.
 Richard Halle, *prior of Beavoir*.
 William Wallingford, *arch-deacon*.
 William Goodreed, *primus scrutator*.
 Thomas Sygare, *custos capellæ Beat. Mariæ*.
 Thomas Walden, *afterward prior of Hertford*.
 Nicholas Litchfield, *secundus scrutator*.
 William Shrovesbury, *sub-infirmarius*.
 John Hatfield.
 Geoffry Louth.
 John Werter, *sub-cellarius*.
 Thomas Wareyn, *sub-sacrist*.
 William Newnham, *tertius scrutator*.
 William Hardewyke.
 Thomas Newland, *sub-cantor*.
 William Lychfield.
 Thomas Roos.
 John Dunmow.
 Richard Whyttington.
 William Barnet.
 Geoffrey Wyntyr.

John VI. re-
chofen.

Roger Torporley.

John Torporley.

William Dixwell, *afterward prior of Hertford.*

Humph. Curteys.

54. John Pontbury, *in sac. ordinibus.*

Nicholas Bond being sick and languishing in the infirmary, Robert Kent, *notarius in causa*, was sent to ask his vote; and *Veni Creator* was sung. Robert Kent proclaimed at the door, 'If any other prior or monk hath a right to vote, let him come forth:' and the prior denounced excommunication on any present who had no right to vote. The king's letters patent were read; then John Peyton, *doctor in decretis*, read a law made in some general council relative to the election of abbots, '*Quia propter per eundem Joannem expositionem cum variis unius electionis satis dilucidè declarata.*' This being finished, William Albon rose, and said aloud, '*I William Albon, prior and prepositor of this monastery, do name, elect, and proclaim, John of Whethampstead, doctor in theology, to be the father, pastor, and abbot, of this church.*' No voice followed, either to second the nomination or to contradict; on which, the chantor proposed to begin the *Te Deum* for such quick dispatch. But the doctors present, namely, John Stokes, and Robert Stillington, *doct. in jure civili*, having the management of the election, would not allow this; and ordered a notary, then present, to go round and ask each one singly: and, when they had all answered, with one voice, John of Wheathampstead, the two doctors ordered the præcentor then to begin the *Te Deum*. He rose and began; and then the prior Albon, and Langton, prior of Tinmouth, approached to the elect; and, taking his hand, led him through the cloister into the choir, and to the great altar; the rest of the convent following. He remained on his knees until the *Te Deum* was finished; when Albon directed him to rise and turn his face toward the choir, that the people might behold him: on which, John Hatfield proclaimed his election. The convent returned to the chapter-house; and John to his chamber, near the infirmary. Albon, Langton, and Wallingford, remained in the Chapter-house; and sent, according to custom, two proctors, to wait on him to receive his consent: the form of which is this following.

'In Dei nomine, amen. Ego frater Johannes Whethampstede, monachus monast. sanc. Albani, Lincoln. dioc. sedi apostolicæ immèd. subjeçti, in abbatem ejusd. monast. canonicè electus; et ad consentiendum electioni de me factæ et celebratæ per partem prioris et conventus ejusd. sepius

et

‘ et instantius requisitus ; elect. hujusmodi de me factæ et celebr. in ho-
 ‘ norem Sanct. Trin. Gloriosæ Virg. Mariæ, et St. Alban. In cujus honore John VI. re-
cho/en.
 ‘ dict. monast. extitit dedic. consentio et consensum meum præbeo in his
 ‘ superscriptis. Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scrib. et
 ‘ recit. sub anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo, quinquagesimo
 ‘ primo. Indictione quinta decima ; pontif. sanctissimi in Christo pa-
 ‘ tris et dom. nostri dom. Nicolai div. provid. sub hoc nomine Papæ
 ‘ Quinti præsentibus test. prædictis. In quorum omnium testim. et fidem
 ‘ nos prior dictus et convent. monast. Sancti Albani prædicti hiis præ-
 ‘ sentibus litteris hanc in se firmam electionis continentibus sigillum
 ‘ nost. comm. apposuimus.

‘ Dat. in mon. nostro de San. Alb. quoad sig. nostri appensionem,
 ‘ octavo die mensis Maii anno dom. sup’dicto.’

John went to London, to be presented to the king, and to swear fealty : but a question arose, in the king’s presence, whether taking this oath was necessary ; those in the negative opinion said, that the second nuptial bed was not blessed as the first ; those in the affirmative said, that the benediction of the abbot, which always followed the oath, could not be given without the oath. On this the elect referred the question to all the doctors of the court of arches : their books determined that the benediction need not be repeated. And he retired to his country house, where the abbots used to live in the time of vacation ; and, when the day of his installation came, he rode on horseback, and came to the west door of the church, where he was received with a procession, and led to the choir : and there he returned thanks.

The prior, &c. informed him, there were three things that wanted amendment ; namely, the teaching the young men in the cloisters, the number of brethren *in studio*, and preaching the word of God by the brethren in pulpits. The next Lent, he ordered a brother to preach every Sunday, *semotis extraneis* ; for, there was no one sufficiently learned to instruct them in grammaticals, and scarce any brother, who was willing to declare, or preach, the word of God before the people : and he ordered the company of scholars to be augmented to four times the number.

On enquiring into the state of the abbey’s finances, he was informed by the steward (or cellarer) that the gifts of the late duke of Gloucester, of vestments and trinkets, had not come to hand ; and it was feared they would be irrecoverable : as the king, or the barons of the exchequer, in his name, had decreed those goods, &c. to Eton and

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chosen. Cambridge; but a recompense had been required; and the two under-mentioned, granted by Henry himself, were quoted and referred to on the occasion. The first charter, after reciting the grants made by Henry I. to abbot Geoffrey, of civil powers, viz. *socam et facam, oustroude et streame, onwod et feld, tol, et them, et Gritbruthe, Hamfethe, Murdre, Forestall, Danegeld, Infangentheof, Utsfangentheof, Flemenefrenith, Blodewit, Wrec*, proceeds thus, *et pro redem. animæ omnes lib. et liberas consuetud. quas regia potestas alicui eccles. conferre potest. omnia bona et catalla ad opus et proficium abbat. et conv. ut idem abb. et con. habeant omnes fines pro transgress. oppression. extortion. deception. conspirat. concealmentis, begtrariis, forestallariis, manutenenciis, ambidextris, falsitatibus, escapiis felonum, et aliis delictis et misprisionibus, necnon omnimoda amercimenta.*

This is a renewal of the charter granted by Henry I. and was re-granted by Henry VI. at his mansion at Kenyngton, the 30th of April, in the 18th year of his reign, 1440.

The second is the charter of Henry VI. to John Stoke, and granted in the 26th year. *Concessimus in perpetuum, quod ipsi et succes. sui habeant cognitionem omnium placit. terrarum et tenementorum infra villas suas de san. Albano, Bernet, Watford, necnon hundredum de Caysho in comit. Hertfordiæ.*

Et coram seneschallo ejus abbatis—vel ut alibi infra libertatem præd. prout et eis. plac. et ne aliquis minister ingrediantur seu seneschall. nec mareschal.

Concessimus etiam eidem abb. justiciarios infra villas et lib. facere ad pacem conservand. et ad omnimodas felonum transg. seneschallus exequatur omnia prout vicecomes aliquis regni nostri. Abb. concessimus assizas panis et mensuras et pondera vini, casei et omnis victûs.

Then follows a clause declaring the tenants to be free from the king's purveyor.

Testibus, John, archbishop of Canterbury, cancellario nostro. Marmaduke (Lumley) bishop of Carlisle lord treasurer. Adam, bishop of Chichester, custode sigilli privati Rich. duce de York, and Hump. duce de Buckingham; Sir Ralph Cromwell, and Sir John Stourton, thesaurario hospitii nostri. Dat. ad Westmon. an. 26^o regn.

In the 19th year of the reign of Henry VI. he gave to Humphrey the priory of Pembroke, together with the manor; and, in the 21st year of Henry VI. 1443, the duke gave these, together with the church of Tenby and Manerbier, to the abbey; and, in the 27th year

year of his reign, (after the death of Humphrey), Henry granted the ^{John VI. re-} abbey an exemption of all the tenths to be paid for those churches, ^{chosen.} in consideration, *that w^e, says the king, are indebted to the abbot in 600*l.* and this grant of 20*l.* a year, the value of the churches, is to be considered as full satisfaction for the vestments and goods given by duke Humphry.*

By these grants, it appears how great the duke's favour was to this church, even after the resignation of John in 1440; and that he intended to make this endowment, as a recompence for the prayers and charges, to be made by the monks after his decease. And, as all the valuable goods, as movables, were intercepted, it is a proof how strong and prevalent his enemies were, even after his death; and how supine a defender John Stoke was of the abbey's rights. But neither of these charters or grants availed them a tittle; and the new-elected abbot, who had seen the course of things since his resignation, was forced to submit to the power of new counsellors, and to see these valuables pass to the king's new foundation at Cambridge; and to undergo a mortifying insult in an act of grace, in 1452, as if this church, by its favour to Humphry, had been guilty of some great crime.

An end being put to this contest by a decree of the barons of the Exchequer, the author breaks out into these words, ‘Laud. Christianis. principi domino regi Hen. sexto, cujus graciosis litteris anima abbatis sicut passer erepta est de laqueo baronum venantium; laqueus quoque contritus, ac ipse graciosè liberatus.

‘ Inter cuncta loca quæ litis sunt vocitata,
 ‘ Est scacci camera line spe veniæ reputata.

Edward, the great-grandfather of Henry, granted, in the 29th year of his reign, liberty to hold at the vacancy for 1000 marks; and, in the 4th year of this reign, it was renewed, at the instance of John de la Mare, a descendant from Thomas the abbot.

In the 30th year of his reign, Henry VI. granted to John, and the abbey, and members thereof, an act of grace, or pardon, for misdeeds by them committed; and here ends the first year of John Whethamstead's restoration.

John Swanburne's land, in and near the town, was seized by the abbot, on the death of a young man of that name; on which came one Thomas Barrington, and demanded restitution, and proved his re-

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 chofen. 1 ation to the deceased. After some conteft, Barrington, (who was of Hatfield Brodoke, of Effex, Efq.) consented to take a yearly rent of 60s. and one gown. And, in the acquittance or release, Thomas describes the house as situate in the street, called Hakwell-street, between the tenement, called Stonchall, and the tenement of Thomas Heynes, called the Bell; with many other tenements. Then the crofts are described, one as lying near the road leading to Hatfield, and one end near to Smallford; another, as belonging to the manor of Newlane, abutting on a field called Comyn Field, and in another part on Eylgrove; another, as belonging to the manor of Bankeworth; and another, to the manor of Sandrugge; another, of five acres, as lying in the field, called Gylefield; three acres lying in Borughfelde; from all which, he says, we exclude ourselves for ever.

Testibus William Laken, seneschal abbatis et conven. Henry Frowyk, Thomas Broket, Barthol. Halley, Edm. Westby hundredario. Anno 31^o regni.

John Stoke was supposed to have died very rich, and affluent in money, flock, and provisions, laid up for the monastery; because he had seen many very plentiful years, so that wheat sold in the market for 4 shillings per quarter, and barley at 30 pence; and, next, because he had committed great waste of the woods; then, because he had been very frugal and saving; and, lastly, because he had been, for several years, the receiver of the whole rent and profits of the manor of Pembroke, or at least of one half; which moiety amounted at least to fifty pounds a year. He confessed also, before the prior, the archdeacon, and the sacrist and almoner, that he had in his hands one thousand marks. One year and a half after his decease, it was thought proper to look into the accompts, and state of the monastery. And the abbot and principal monks called before them that monk (a), who had had chief rule under the late abbot; and he brought the accounts; in which it appeared, that in the chamberlain's office there were so many debtors, that the arrears would fall short 50l. In the office of sub-steward the demand exceeded the arrears thirty pounds; in the office of butler the creditors were numerous, yet there were arrears to the amount of 100l. to satisfy them. But that no money was to be found in the treasury; and no corn, or at least a very little, in the granary, for the future support during the approaching year.

(a) My author does not name him; but it was William Wallingford, the archdeacon.

And that, in the other two offices, viz. of the head steward and of the forester, (offices of less charge and of very slender receipt,) they seemed not worthy to be noted. By all which it appears, says my author, what was the good effect and issue of all that high talk which prevailed at the death of John Stoke. John VI. re-
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This state appeared extraordinary after the 11 years of fertility, during the rule of Stoke: and it appeared that the money had been either purloined, and secretly withdrawn; or that, though the years had been productive, and the rents well paid, yet that the charge and disbursements did greatly exceed the receipts. And it grieved them to find, that the usual commodities and relief in these cases, as the sale of the wood and timber, and the *dismissio nativorum* (a), did now fail and cease; so that no supply was to be expected for some years. On consultation and advice, the officarius generalis (for, that was his title) advised to have recourse to the lord Richmond, and the lord Sudley, to borrow money; but, truly, to intercede for him. The officer took up his accounts and walked off; and soon made such corrections in them, as to cut off from the sum due to creditors almost 200l. and to increase the quantity of grain in store above 200 quarters; and made out that there was 160l. in the treasury; and, running with his accounts thus amended, cries out, ‘ Here, my lord, is the talent ‘ which I had for some time laid up in a napkin. I was afraid, be- ‘ cause thou art an austere man; taking up what thou hast not laid ‘ down, and mowing where thou hast not sowed.’ The abbot read the accounts; and, seeing the alteration to be near 400l. in his favour, seemed content, thinking that a little patience was the proper remedy at present; for, he had reason to suspect, from the premises, that connivance at the fraud, rather than a faithful and true account, would be the best means of bringing them to a reconciliation. The abbot therefore, with intent to avoid giving scandal to the officer, and all the inconveniences of giving the keys to another, called him up, and said, ‘ Brother, we all know how much you excel ‘ all your fellows and equals in the wisdom of this world; and how ‘ cautious and wary you are in the business of buying and selling, ‘ and providing every single article in its proper season. Be it there- ‘ fore determined, that, under the hope of a more faithful and more ‘ prudent dispensation for the future, you do continue in the exercise

(a) Enfranchising the villains.

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‘ of your office ; and especially because we do not much like an exchange.’ And thus ended this matter.

My author remarks, that, when Stoke lay sick at Thydenhangre, he was visited in his last moments by the prior, treasurer, and chief officers ; and by them exhorted to give some account of the 1000 marcs which they knew he had in his hands about that time, or not long before. After much exhortation, therefore, and comparing him to Tantalus, who turned every thing that he touched into gold, he owned that 40 marcs went to pay the charge of making the great bell, and of glasing(a) and paving the cloister : ‘ and the rest I leave in-
‘ tire to my successor, for his use and profit, and to support the burden
‘ of maintaining the state and countenance of his abbatical dignity.
‘ We have, indeed, been prejudicial to the abbey in three things ; in the
‘ waste of the woods ; in the *dissmissio nativorum* ; and in making too little
‘ provision of grain, against the contingency of extreme dearnefs and
‘ scarcity ; and, for that reason, we have willed and enjoined, that, in
‘ recompence of such lots the remainder of the said money should pass
‘ entire, and without defalcation, into your hands.’ The prior, hearing this, wished to gain farther information ; and asked him ‘ How ! do you
‘ say you have the 1000 marks in the treasury ? or in arrearages, or in
‘ the hands of any debtor ?’ He answered, ‘ We have, as I told you
‘ before, 1000 marcs in the treasury in money told.’ The prior said,
‘ But where are these moneys, in your own proper hand, or in the
‘ custody of any other ?’ On which the abbot raised his right hand, and, directing his forefinger to brother William Wallingford, then his general agent, (*officiorum suum generalem,*) and to brother Thomas Wallingford, his elder chaplain, cries out thus, ‘ In your custody,
‘ and yours, are all these marks ; and in a certain chest under the
‘ dormitory : put there, as ye very well know. Therefore, do you
‘ dispose of this money as I have just now directed, to the honour of
‘ your church, and to the use of my successor.’ The prior, with great joy and exultation at such news, repaired in haste to the monastery ; and, calling the brethren together, related this intelligence, with every word of the abbot’s concerning the money. Then, with earnest solicitation, he exhorted them to repair to prayers, and supplicate God for the happy departure of the abbot ; for, his hour was near at hand ; and, soon after, the abbot dying, and the two brethren above-named being come to the monastery, as by the prior had been

(a) Advitiationem.

directed; they were ordered by him to produce and lay before the ^{John VI. re-}brethren, and in his presence, the 1000 marcs, as mentioned by the ^{chofen.}late abbot. On which they brought out two small boxes, and the chest hidden under the dormitory, strongly closed and locked, and affirmed, with the strongest oaths, that they had nothing more in their custody, of all that the abbot had deposed and confessed. The prior then proceeded, in their presence, to open them; but found in the whole no more than 250 marcs. Struck with no small astonishment, he hastened to the study of the late abbot, and to every particular place where he suspected he had used to hide his money; and, having found nothing, he called to him the two above-mentioned, and inquired, with great earnestness, where the remaining 750 marcs could be deposited. They affirmed, as before, with an oath, that they knew of no more. The prior, full of disappointment and vexation, thought proper to suspend all farther enquiry until a new pastor should be appointed; who, having more full authority, might be more successful in his inquiry, and bring the matter into clearer light, which was now somewhat private and concealed. When John VI. (Wheathampstead) was replaced in the pastoral care, the prior advised such steps as have been related; having waited 18 months, in expectation that some confession of the parties, or some discovery otherwise, might be made. During this time the said William (a) had confessed to some, and spoken unwarily unto others, that he had in the burfary above 160l.; and this he owned to Robert Beaver, a brother of venerable character and age. On this, the abbot charged him to delay no longer; but, having given him very severe rebukes, insisted on his producing the money, which by all accounts must exceed, he said, 1000 pounds. The abbot, in his rebukes and invectives, told him, that he was famous, even from a boy, of loving money, and making a gain by any means; and of lending money to those who practised usury; and that there never had been a sale of timber or underwood, or a *manumissio nativorum*, a purchase of grain, or any other great contract, in which he had not made a profit, and been employed in accumulating more and more to his own private property. ‘And for these special reasons, and others, which, in regard to your honour, we forbear at present to discover, we and all your brethren are of opinion, and very confident, that you do abound in money and cash much beyond your written

(a) This officer, William Wallingford, had under his charge and care the burfary, or general receipt and disbursement, the sub-cellership, and the chamberlainship.

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accounts. Produce then the money; or we will instantly proceed against you, as the canons and constitutions direct.' The official general was softened by these threats; and, going to his brother the chaplain, told him, that he would endeavour to find money in two or three years, to pay all the debts, and discharge all incumbrances and obligations; and hoped the abbot would receive him into favour; nor suffer his character to be sullied, for the management and œconomy he had used; and that he would, by the end of that time, save as much in the bursary as 2 or 300l. The chaplain related this to the abbot. The abbot added his reproaches and threats, and would promise no favour, nor shew any mercy, until the accounts were set right. On this, the official satisfied a great many debts before and at Michaelmas; beginning with paying what was due to the king, then to the pope, next to the barons of the exchequer, and then to the several private creditors. And, on the issue of this business, it appeared, that William either kept no regular accounts, or had been contriving to make a private purse contrary to the rule; or that he was lost in money matters, like many others, who resolve to go on till their employers compel them to account, without any intention of fraud, but being bewildered with the intricacy of business and commerce.

In this third year of the abbot's restoration, one Henry Halstede, who had formerly been sub-prior to the monastery, but who had gone away from the brethren, and lived in a secular manner for some years, desired to be re-admitted; and, with many tears of contrition, tried the compassion of his brethren. At length he promised to rebuild the dormitory at Wymundham, and bestow other benefactions on that cell, if he could be admitted; and, after proof given of his sincerity, he should be happy to be made prior of Binham, now vacant. The abbot interceded in his behalf, that he might procure him a favorable reception; on which he was admitted at Binham, and promoted to be their prior. About the same time, one John Middleton, who had left the cloister, and abandoned the monastic rule and vows, supplicated the abbot to be re-admitted; to which he consented; and, after intreating the consent of the body, he adds the following lines:

Tempore difficiles veniunt ad aratra juvenci;
Tempore lenta pati fræna docentur equi.

In the time of John Stoke, the late abbot, many monks had withdrawn and gone away to a secular life: namely, Edmund Shenley, by a papal bull *de emigratione*; and Richard Langley, by the like authority. From the cell at Hertford, Richard Aylyshamstead departed by virtue of a papal bull *de promotione*. And from Wallingford cell had departed the said Henry Halsted, the prior, by the bull *de promotione*; and also another brother, named Robert Morpath, the cellerar, by the same kind of bull; and also William Wisbich, by virtue of a bull *de emigratione*. And from Hatfield Peverell there had gone John Whytly, by virtue of a bull *de promotione*. From Bynham, John Middleton, by a bull *de promotione*; and also a brother, named William Shawe, *per viam apostasie in qua decessit*. And several from Wymondham; but it was on erecting the said cell into an abbey: and these were master Stephen London, the prior; Thomas Mikkelfield, the sub-prior; Stephen Nelyng, praeceptor; William Canterbury, the steward, (*cellerarius*); Thomas Blakeney, sacrist; John Keppys, William Westgate, Nicolas Banne, William Dolte, Christopher Merle, John Sabbe, John Byshop, Adam Norwich, Thomas Baldwyn, and John Galuard, monks. These all receded from the church and obedience to the abbot; but it was supposed to arise from the instability and misconduct of the head, John Stoke.

The reason and cause why the whole cell of Wymondham withdrew from their duty, and the obedience due to the abbot, was this: John had conceived a great dislike against the archdeacon, William Wallingford, and wished to provoke him to quit the monastery; at length, the old prior of Wymondham being persuaded to resign on account his imbecillity and age, the abbot offered this vacant honour to the archdeacon, and complimented him on having a man so learned and worthy to place in so proper a degree of preferment and honour. The archdeacon went, and for one year ruled well; then, on some occasion, the abbot commanded him to return to St. Albans; on which the new prior, now supported by the patron of the cell, refused, and undertook to appeal to the apostolical see. The bill of supplication mentioned, that the cell had been for 300 years *serva et ancilla*, but now was fit *ut filia haberetur, et etiam domina in honore; et haberet sponsum in rectorem, qui gauderet nomine abbatis*. The messenger hastened with this to Rome, and returned with speed; having procured, and carried with him, the king's licence to favour this work. This happened in 1449. And the pope's bull, after reciting that John Stoke had acted contrary to the pious intention of the founder, the most holy

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prelate to the universal church did yield to the vows and instances to him made, and did confirm, by a new charter, that the said priory should be erected into an abbey. And this transaction was accomplished, in spite of all the pleas and opposition made to it by John Stoke, in the space of two years following; and, in 1450, the same was completely ended.

It is proper to mention, that, in the 2d year of John's restoration, a certain knight of Middlesex (a), named Thomas Charlton, gave great trouble to John, by endeavouring to wrest from this church the manor of Burston. This man, having authority enough to be chosen speaker of the House of Commons, tried to recover this manor; though his father had sold it, and his mother had levied a fine on the same. But the lord Cromwell (*dominus de Cromwell*) took the abbot's part, and defeated the projects of the knight. In the fourth year of John's restoration, there died in the monastery one Matthew Bepset, a chaplain of the abbot's; who, on his death bed, sent for William Blake-ney, the elder chaplain, and wished to confess to him all his sins; and begged the abbot to take all his goods and effects, and dispose of them to the uses he would point out. The abbot, overjoyed, and knowing him to be possessed of 1000 marks, imagined the legacy was coming all to the strong box of the church. But the dying man told him, that he had in the town a wife and several children. This was a surprize that was not soon or easily recovered. However, the dying request was made, and promise given to comply with it; and the abbot determined to apply the money to the use and emolument of the family; but he kept, for the use of the church, and to be applied *ad incrementum suæ novellæ ordinationis*, two little parcels of land, left by the deceased, and one pigeon-house. These were situate near the toft of Squillers, where the abbey had other lauds of their own.

It was now the year 1455, when the first battle of St. Alban's happened; the causes of which it is unnecessary to relate: suffice it to say, that the king, attended with his nobles, or such as were of his council, and a number of armed troops, came down from London; and probably with a view, that a treaty with the duke of York might be carried on with less interruption or danger from the military. The duke was coming from the north; and brought with him 3000 men of that body which he had raised there, and took

(a) Effectus utique prolocutor et regimen domus inferioris in se suscipiens.

post in the great field on the east side of the town, called Key-field. ^{John VI. re-}
 The king's men had barricadoed all the avenues on that side. ^{chosen.} The
 cry among the Yorkists was, Give up the duke of Somerset; but, no
 concession of this sort being made, the duke's men broke into St.
 Peter's-street; and, being there met by the royalists, a dreadful
 conflict ensued; where, after many were slain, the king's party
 lost courage and fled, leaving their sovereign alone, and standing
 under his standard. He, perceiving himself thus deserted, walked
 away into a small house (of a baker); and here the duke finding him,
 led him out, and conducted him to the abbey; there he first placed
 him, close to the shrine, whether for safety and sanctuary, or to
 induce him to return thanks for his safety; he then conducted him
 to the royal apartments, and the next day to London. The effemi-
 nacy of the king's men, and to which is ascribed the loss of the
 battle, is thus described by our author, who saw both parties, and
 writes of them thus,

Quicquid ad Eoos tractusque regni tepores
 Vergitur; emollit animos Clementia Cœli: et
 Omnis in arctois sanguis quicunque pruinis
 Nascitur; indomitus bellis, et mortis amator.

The duke's men fell to plundering the town; but, by the commands
 of the duke, they abstained from doing any injury to the abbey.
 And the abbot thought it necessary to send out to them great quan-
 tities of victuals and wine; and this, together with the protecting
 hand of the martyr, as my author asserts, preserved the abbey and
 church from any injury by spoil and depredation. The slain lay
 thick in the upper street, and at the division of the ways about the
 market. And among them were seen the dead bodies of Edmund
 Beaufort, duke of Somerset; of Henry Percy, earl of Northumber-
 land; and Thomas Clifford, lord Clifford. But, because they were
 persons well known to be hateful to the duke of York when alive,
 none ventured to prepare for their funerals, or shewed any decent re-
 gards to their dead bodies. On which abbot John addressed the duke,
 and begged him to spare the vanquished, and suffer some honours
 to be paid to these deceased,—not enemies will I call them, says he,
 but your relations by blood, and fellow-patriots. And, saying more
 to recommend moderation in his victory, the duke commanded him
 to take the bodies and provide for their funerals. The abbot caused

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some of the brethren to go forth and take up the deceased. This was done, and the dead bodies received into the church, and laid out in decent order; and in a few days the funeral obsequies were performed, and the bodies had interment in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin. They were laid in the ground *in lineali ordine, juxta statum, gradum, et honorem, dignitatis. Unde de his dominis et de eorum sepulturâ scribitur in ista formâ.*

Quos Mars, quos Martis fors sæva suæque sororis,
Bello prostrarunt, villæ medioque necarunt.
Mors sic occisos tumulaverat hic simul ipsos,
Postque necem requiem causavit habere perhennem,
Est medium sine quo vult sic requiescere nemo:
Hic lis, hic pugna, mors est quæ terminat arma;
Mors, fors, et mavors, qui straverunt dominos hos.

This year, in the Parliament held at Westminster in July, a declaration was put forth, by the consent of Lords and Commons, in favour of Humphry, duke of Gloucester; whose death had been procured in 1447, and whose fame had been tarnished by the wilful and malicious charges of treason thrown out against him ever since by the same enemies. This declaration cleared his character; and, like a proclamation from the king, was enjoined to be made public in all parts of the kingdom, but especially in the town of St. Albans. It is addressed to the sheriff of Hertford and Essex, dated the 31st of July, in the 33d year of Henry's reign. And the substance of it is, to clear the duke's character from the slanders and aspersions that had for seven years been thrown upon it; and, as this Parliament was framed to the devotion of the duke of York, it must be thought to have originated with him, for some private ends, to take up this vindication. The duke also issued another declaration, to vindicate himself, and bear harmless all and every person who had committed spoil, waste, or murder, in the late battle; by laying the whole blame of that bloody conflict on the duke of Somerset, deceased; Thomas Thorpe, the chief baron of the Exchequer; and William Jossop, knight and attendant to the king; who were charged with a letter to the king, signifying the duty and obedience of the Yorkists; but which these men did not deliver, and of course were the cause of the hostility and bloody contention.

In

In this year or the last, the abbot treated with the owner of Garf-^{John VI. re-}ton manor, who was William Halle, of Shidlington, in the county of Bedford, gent. for the purchase of the same; and in conclusion, the purchase was completed, and the same became the property of the abbey; and one John Wangford, attorney at law, was employed to take possession of the same. chofen.

The abbot also purchased the manor of Aygnell, in the parish of Redburn; in the deeds of which conveyance, next to the name of the owner, Joan Spendlove, is the name of Henry Frowyk, esq. of South Mymes, as a party; and the witnesses to the same are, Bartholomew Halley, esq. Edmund Westby, esq. Roger Witton, esq. Thomas Atte Hoo, Robert Anable, John Newbury, Rowland Payable, Thomas Clothman, Robert Stodeley, John Hunt, John Chopin, Thomas Peacock, Walter Finch, and many others. The abbot grants an annuity to the said widow, who had sold; and to John Ferrers, her brother and heir, a pension of 34s. and 4d. to be paid at Lady Day and Michaelmas, and eight cart loads of fire-wood, from Eywood, yearly, as the same shall be assigned by the forester, or woodward, of the abbey; and to be cut and carried at the expence of the said widow and Ferrers. He grants her also one croft of land, with a cottage built on the same, situate beyond the bridge of Haliwell, and belonging to the office of sub-steward, called Duffehowf-croft (Dovehouse Croft).

The abbot, about 1457, conceived a design to visit all the estates and manors belonging to the abbey; and set forth with his officers to view and inspect their estate at Rickmersworth; and there found, that there manor of De la Mare was held under the great manor of Rickmersworth; and that the dwelling and habitation of their tenant, who was Lord thereof, viz. of the great manor, and named Ralph Botiller, lord of Sudley, argued the owner to be a man of great wealth and power; and thereon they thought it necessary to take such steps as might secure their rights in future times, when this present tenant might be gone, and another come, who would disown their rights, and refuse any submission or dependence. He held also under them the manor of Asheles, Brittewell, and Baccheworth; and without any yearly acknowledgement; on which they expressed a desire to Ralph Botiller, that he would submit to some yearly payment; and, this being directly assented to, they made out new grants, with an obligation of one penny for each manor, to be paid yearly at Michaelmas.

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In this same year a bill of resumption was brought into Parliament, in order to annul all the grants and donations, made by the king and his friends, to the Lancastrians; with a reservation of 1000 marks yearly to the queen (Margaret), though the greatest enemy to the duke of York. This bill so far alarmed the abbot, that he sent the prior to London, to get a proviso inserted in the bill, that this resumption might in no wise prejudice the abbot and chapter of St. Alban; and the prior offered this exception, that the said resumption be in no wise prejudicial to the abbey in the court of the Marshalsea, nor in the court of the clerk of the market, nor his right to stop and deduct the sum of 40l. for collecting and paying to the king the intire tenths of the clergy; and also, that the abbot be not prejudiced in any thing relating to the priory of Pembroke, in South Wales; which had been given and granted by the king, or confirmed by him, for, and instead of, the legacy and donation of valuables, given to the abbey by Humphry, duke of Gloucester, but detained by the enemies of that person about the court at the time of his death. The prior thought he had done the business, and that he possessed no small favour with the king, for so ready admission of his request; but, soon after, the king's brief is sent to the sheriff of Essex and Hertford, to this effect, that they take account and value of all honours, castles, lordships, vills, villages, manors, lands, and tenements; but take possession of nothing, or cause others to take possession, under pretext of an act of resumption. The abbot was not satisfied, but thought some abuse might be made of the powers given by the bill; and, on application to a particular friend, who bore office in the king's exchequer, but is not named, he petitioned the king for a more full declaration of indemnity and security to all the estates and goods of the abbey. The king was abroad, and for other causes, (*ob pauperiem regis,*) no progress was made, in consequence, for half a year; when, at length, the king's writ, under his privy seal, but with the authority of Parliament, (which was then the practice,) came forth, confirming the former disposal of the *jocalia et ornamenta* which duke Humphry had given, but which the king had presented to his new college of Eaton and Cambridge. But the writ said not a word of any other possessions, or implied any security to them. In this year, the king put forth a proclamation, injoining peace and concord between the relations and parties of the noblemen slain at St. Alban; and an agreement took place, with mutual professions of being reconciled. It is a recommendation to *Alienoram ducissam Somercetriae*;

cetriae; *Henricum ducem Som. filium suum, et alios natos suos*; (where John VI. remarked, that the countess of Salisbury, and mother of Henry VII. was his daughter,) and Eleanor, countess of Northumberland; Henry, earl of Northumberland; her son, *et alios natos suos*; and John, earl of Clifford, *et fratres et sorores suos*: and the other parties were, Richard, duke of York; Richard, earl of Warwick; and Richard, earl of Salisbury; *et alios ejusdem comitis Sarum natos*. And the latter consented to pay, within two years, the sum of 45l. to the abbot and monks, and to continue the same yearly, *pro missis, suffragiis, et obitibus habendis, et elemosyna danda, pro animabus dictorum, et omnium aliorum ibidem tunc temporis occisorum*. The king also enjoins, that the duke of York shall pay to the duchess of Somerset and her son 5000 marks, from such assignments as shall be good and sufficient, and due from us to the said Richard, *pro vadiis suis Hibernie*; the same to be distributed, as we shall advise, among the brothers and sisters of the said duke of Somerset. *Item volumus, laudamus, et indicamus*, for the considerations above-mentioned, that Richard, earl of Warwick, shall give to the said lord Clifford 1000 marks, out of such assignments or debts as we do owe unto the said earl, to be distributed among the said lord, his brothers, and sisters: ‘And where- as,’ says the king’s writ, farther, ‘Sir Thomas Percy, and Richard Percy, his brother, the sons of our said kinswoman, Eleanor, countess of Northumberland, have been cast in an action of damages in the last session of oyer and terminer at York, before Richard Byngnam and Ralph Pole, our justices, to the earl of Salisbury, in 8000 marks; and to Alicia, his wife, or countess, in 5000 marks; and to Thomas Nevill, the son of the said earl, in 1000 marks; and to the said Thomas (Clifford) and his wife Matilda, in a sum of 2000 marks; and John Nevil, a son also of the said earl of Salisbury, in 800 marks; for great and divers transgressions laid, and found, in the said sessions, to have been perpetrated by the said Sir Thomas Percy, lord of Egremont, and Richard his brother, unto the said earl of Salisbury, and Alicia his wife; Thomas Nevil, and Matilda his wife; and to John Nevil; as by the records of the said sessions appears: We will, ordain, and adjudge, that the said earl of Salisbury, and his sons, do release unto the said countess, and her sons, all such sums as aforesaid, and the executions thereof; and release, also, all claims on Ralph Verney and John Steward, the two sheriffs of London, for the escape (a) of the said Egremont.’

(a) Propter escapamentum.

But

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But the said Egremond was compelled to keep the peace, toward the said earl of Salisbury and his countess, for ten years to come; and to enter into a recognizance in the penalty of 4000 marks, towards his sons, servants, and tenants. ‘And whereas,’ says the king’s writ, ‘divers foldiers, esquires, and others, as well servants as tenants, belonging to the said earl of Northumberland, and the said lord Egremond, on occasion of these debates, have become bound, by special obligations, to some person on behalf of our said kinsmen, the duke of York, the earl of Salisbury, or his sons; we will and adjudge, that the said obligations be given us before the feast of St. Peter, at our city of York; or, that they have sufficient releases of the same.’ And other matters are enjoined, in order to restore peace between the contending parties; who, on both sides, are styled the *consanguinei* of the king, dated March 24, anno regni 36.

In this same year, a termination was put to a dispute, which had been kept up many years, by Sir John Cheyne, of Ismaufede Cheyne, in the county of Bucks. This knight had held a virgate and half of land, under the abbey, situate in Chalphunt St. Giles, at a rent of 40s. per annum; but he had refused to pay it for many years: and now it was agreed that, on remitting all the arrears, he should pay regularly for the future.

About this time, John Bamborough, the sub-prior of the cell of Tynmouth, sent a book to the abbot, containing the life and transactions of St. John, the prior of the same, who had been the uncle of Wheathampstead, as well as of singular merit in the care and discharge of his duty. The abbot was so well pleased with the work, that he wrote to the author the following letter: ‘In Christo carissime frater, confrater, et consocia; libellulum tuæ gratuitæ compilationis de vitâ, cura, et conversatione, carissimi nostri avunculi, tui prioris, nuper nobis præmissum, promptâ manu recepimus; læto oculo perspeximus; &c. Nisi labor iste tuus fuisset, jacuisset etiam hic noster avunculus inter oblitos.’

There came, at this time, three monks of the Cluniac order into England; and, finding at London that the king was come down to this abbey, they followed; and, being received, they were entertained by the abbot. They said they had three things to mention, as the causes of their journey; as first, to declare and shew, that the kings of England had been among their greatest and best benefactors, for, that Henry II. had been their principal founder; in the next place, to seek possession and confirmation of those grants of good, which had

been

been given to their order by the royal progenitors, but had been withheld and detained; and, lastly, to obtain full licence, to enter all the religious houses, belonging to, and dependent on, their abbey; and which had been founded by noble progenitors, and placed under their rule and government. For these three reasons they fought to be admitted to the king's presence; who, on hearing their request, ordered them to await his answer at London. They then paid their duty to the queen, because she was daughter of the king of Sicily, and *de Gallicanâ Natione*; who recommended them to the abbot for farther entertainment. But, at their departure, the senior sent the abbot a letter of thanks, together with a habit of their order, which he had brought with him; and, after returning thanks for the entertainment received, he speaks of the habit, *utinam esset novus, licet sit miser, tamen ad tegendam humanam fragilitatem terream aptior est et melior. Omnes enim beati patris benedicti nostri filii hoc habitu tegimur in vitâ, et, post mortem, involvitur.*

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‘ I send you also, ’ he says, a ‘ small tract, which I have here prepared, not for the use of the clergy, ‘ but for the king and the nobles. It contains, indeed, no science : ‘ for, I am not master of one book. But it is to inform his majesty, ‘ that, having spent four months and a half in our journey, and the ‘ prosecution of our rights with the king and his council, we find our ‘ selves disappointed, and have obtained nothing. Indeed, we return in ‘ great grief and sorrow, finding ourselves deprived of our manors, and ‘ stripped of our pensions; and, what is worst, robbed and denied of ‘ the obedience of all our convents, which are 38 in number. Nor are ‘ our lawful documents allowed any authority, nor will the testimony ‘ of your chronicles and histories avail us. So that, our affairs being ‘ in utter confusion, disorder, and loss, and our money all spent, ‘ we are compelled to return empty. After discharging our board and ‘ entertainment, there remains only 5 crowns to carry us 260 leagues.’

The abbot wrote a letter of thanks in return. ‘ In tanto, etiam, duo ‘ vestra munuscula fuerunt nobis acceptiora, de quanto illorum ‘ unum invitat nos ad bonum, alterum vero instruit ad mores et ‘ ad doctrinationem. Habitus enim vester ad vitam sanctiorem ‘ nos invitat; sanctus enim est, et sanctum ad se trahit, non sanctum ‘ autem emendat. Tractatulus quippe plenus est pinguedine mor- ‘ lis scientiæ; moraliter quoque unumquemque instruit qui in ipso ‘ vel legere vel studere velit. Valeatis, amen, cursivo calamo et festivo (a).’

(a) Here my author closes his yearly chronicle with these words: ‘ Finiunt acta anni septimi; finit etiam et labor registrantis.

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At Easter, in the 8th year of John's re-election, in 1459, the king, Henry VI. came down to pass the holidays. His coming is introduced with this allusion, that, as Christ came at this time, sitting on an ass, to eat the passover at Jerusalem, so our lord the king came down, at this season, *ad manducandum agnellum paschalem cum ducibus et baronibus*. At the king's departure, he ordered the keeper of his robes to deliver to the prior his best robe, which he had worn one day this Easter. The treasurer of the kingdom was present, and heard the king's command; and, knowing that this was the only robe fit and suitable for the king to appear in, and competent to his dignity, he stepped up to the prior, and, promising to redeem it for 50 marcs, retained the robe. The king could scarcely consent to this act of prudent œconomy; but ordered the prior to come soon to London: which the prior having done, and waiting on the treasurer, this officer, in presence of the king, counted out the money; and the king directed that the same be laid out in the purchase of gold cloth, of great value, and commonly called *crimesyne thissuue*; and this to be made up in one cope, a chafuble, two tunics, and one complete suit for the covert of the great altar. And, this done, the king begged one favour, that the abbot and monks would appoint one anniversary, to remember him their benefactor; and to fix on the day of his death for this solemn memorial, &c. The prior consented, and the appointment was made, and signified to the king in writing; and, in this concession, the abbot shews what mention shall be made of the king in the office and the form of the collect; and that they should direct six poor men to attend the service, and sit in the cloister, and receive bread, and money, and other articles, in relief of their wants; after the manner that was practised in the memorial days of other great and noble benefactors: but, in the mean time, that they should be particularly employed in praying for the felicity and prosperity of the king while he remained on earth. 'We also promise,' says the abbot, 'to observe and celebrate this obit day with wax torches, the ringing of bells, and all other solemnities used and practised by us in the obit days of your illustrious ancestors, king Henry II. Edward II. and Henry V. of divine memory. And we promise and engage ourselves to observe the same, after your decease, for ever and ever, (*per omne ævum et in secula seclorum*). In full testimony whereof, and to the full and perfect faith and observance of our premises, we here affix our seal, this 15th day of May, 1459. Given in our chapter-house,' &c.

In the 9th year of John, Sir Ralph Buttiller, and Elizabeth, his wife, took measures to mortgage their interests in the manor of More, Asheles, Battchworth, Britwell, and Estbury; and this was transacted, as the law then required, before the King and Parliament. But which transaction had nothing in it worthy of remark; except that the manors contained 16 messuages, 12 tofts, 22 cartilages; one thousand and 90 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of wood; quit rents amounting to 22s. and 11d.; with waters, fisheries, ways, paths, &c. in Rickmersworth and Watford. The whole interest therein, being to hold only during the life of the said Sir Ralph Buttiller and his wife; and then the estates to revert to the abbot and monastery, on their payment of 3000 marcs in six years. The witnesses to this deed were Robert Whyttingham, John Say, Edmund Brudnell, Robert Knollys, Ralph Gray, and others.

The year 1460 proved fatal to the duke of York and the Nevills; for, in the conflict, or battle, at Wakefield, the queen routed their army; and the duke, with his son, the earl of Rutland, was slain. The queen's army then marched southward; and, in 1461, met the forces of the Yorkists at St. Albans. The latter came by the Dunstable road, and took possession of the town. The queen's army had marched parallel to the other, came through Bedfordshire, and took post on Bernard heath. The Yorkists met the king's troops in the streets leading to the North, and chiefly in the back street leading from the lower end of the town, and drove them back to the heath; where about four or five thousand of the king's troops sustained the fight, the whole day; but, these having suffered great loss in slain and wounded, the whole army of the king, although 20,000 in number, took to flight. The king was conducted by one of his attendants, Sir Thomas Hoo, to the tent of the Lord Clifford, near adjoining the king's camp. To this tent Sir Thomas soon after conducted the queen and prince of Wales. Thence the king was conducted with the queen and prince to the abbey, and first led to the great altar, as if to return thanks, then to the shrine, and last to his chamber of state. The monks had met him, on his coming, and formed an irregular procession about him; chaunting and offering prayers for his safety. Before he entered the chamber, the old abbot intreated his majesty to give strict orders, that no soldier might presume to plunder the abbey or town; but no order could avail; for, the northern men thought themselves intitled to retaliate on all the people south of Trent. And in the rage of their victory as well as

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chosen. thirst of plunder, they ravaged the houses, stripped the aged and the orphan, and robbed even the poor who were relieved daily at the gates; yet they broke not into the abbey. The prior, the archdeacon, and many of the brethren, fled away through fear, and concealed themselves in the country. But the abbot stood his ground, and remained on the spot; and, when in a few days the king, and queen, and prince, were departed, he called together the remaining persons of the abbey, and inquired into the state of their stores: for, out of the monastery, scarcely any provision was to be found in the country, either for friend or foe. The northern men, who had here proved victorious, had committed terrible ravages during the progress of their march; and now began to be more insolent by their victory: they not only were permitted to rob, and plunder, and carry away all provisions, but to drive away the cattle, and commit the most wanton waste. And the licentious behaviour of these northern men was so new and monstrous in these southern parts, that the country people fled, and left their homes desolate and unguarded; the victors refused to bury the dead themselves, and none of the country people could be brought in to do that office. These followers of the earl of March were looked on as monsters in barbarity, when compared with the southern men and the people of the king's party. But the old abbot was enabled to preserve some kind of rule and order, and had influence enough with the conquerors, and those who had the king in custody, to prevent any rapine or violence against the monastery or great church. And, on the eighth day after the action, the earl of March came. His commander had conveyed away the captive monarch and queen, a few days before, to the tower of London; but, when the earl came, he composed every disorder, and withdrew all his armed men, and marched to London.

It was on the 4th of March, 1461, when the Earl went to the palace at Westminster, and seated himself in the throne: and (though only 19 years of age) he went abruptly into the House of Lords, the Parliament then sitting; and, in a speech of some vehemence, and with much genealogical knowledge, asserted his right to the Crown. It is easy to imagine, that any title, supported by a victorious army, and the popular favour of the citizens, would be admitted: and, accordingly, he shewed how the Henrys had been usurpers; that, while Richard II. was employed in Ireland, to punish and revenge the death of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, then next heir to Richard (being son of Philippa, the daughter of Clarence, second son of Edward

ward III.); Henry the son of John of Lancaster, who was fourth son of the same Edward, on a sudden returned from his exile, and procured an election to the throne by favour of Parliament. John VI. re-
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Soon after followed the coronation of the new king, now called Edward IV. The abbot was told, that a resumption was made by parliament of their priory of Pembroke, with all its lands, rents, goods, and appurtenances; as having been part of the possessions of those, who had been the near relations, as well as guardians and protectors, of the Lancastrian line. On this the abbot directs one of the brethren, named Archyn, to repair to London, and present a bill to the Upper House of Parliament, for the preservation of this estate. This was done, and, by the interest of the bishop of Exeter, then chancellor, and a near relation of the king's, the resumption was prevented, and the king granted his letters patent, bearing date the 22d of December, in the first year of his reign, to confirm the said priory, and all its dependencies, &c. to the abbot and his successors. This Parliament passed a bill of attainder against the heads and chiefs of the Lancastrians; against Margaret, the wife (*sponsa* not *regina*) of Henry VI. against his son Edward; Henry Holland, duke of Exeter; and Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset. And never had this kingdom seen so perfect a depression of one royal family, and so sudden an elevation of another; caused by the weakness and ill policy of the late prince, the death and extirpation of all his adherents, and the rising valour, and better pretensions, of an enterprising father and son, supported by great family connections (a), and leading to battle the hardy and intrepid men of the north.

Though John had lived, during his last election, in times of trouble and public dangers, he did not omit such repairs and improvements as were necessary, or decent and suitable. In the 2d year he thought proper to build a library, which he covered with lead; and, beside the charge of glazing, plastering, and fitting up (b), the plain structure cost upwards of 150 pounds.

While this work was in hand he rebuilt the bakehouse, the old one being much cracked, and going to ruin; and a more beautiful or convenient one no monastery in England can boast: this was conducted by the care of William Wallingford, his principal official,

(a) The Nevills, that is, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury; the lords Clifford and Fauconberg; aided by the Perceys.

(b) *Deducta vitratione, crestatione, et positione descorum.*

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and cost above 105 pounds. In contemplation of his latter end he prepared a marble bed, or coffin, for his future and final repose; and, during his life-time, erected the present monument and sepulchre, the cost of which, with that of the pavement adjoining, was above 20 pounds. He had laboured many years to complete a picture of the Saviour, seated in the front, and surrounded by various saints and followers. It is not said who was the artist, nor that it was his own work; but, for the enriching the same with gold and silver, and as a reward to the painter, he had expended 157 pounds. He also repaired the parish-church and chancel of Appulton Kydale, in the county of York, and in so strong and complete a manner, that it would want nothing more for 100 years; and here he expended above 25 pounds.

The lands of one John Swanbourne, situated in the town and near it, and which had been alienated by fraud for many years, he now recovered; and, by giving to some claimant a yearly pension of 5 marcs, he has (says Blakney) annexed the same to the church for ever. He obtained also of the lord Hastings, who then dwelt near to the monastery or town, certain very rich and curious hangings (a), wrought with great art, and used on days of solemnity, and which hung up in the said lord's great chamber in the summer season. And for these hangings the abbot was said to remit above 40l. of a large debt, due from the said lord, and thought to be desperate.

He procured also a discharge of twenty pounds a year, due to the king's exchequer, and which now came to 600 pounds, as already mentioned; and these, being contrary to the pleasure of the barons, cost him much trouble and difficulty to obtain: and here he expended above 30 l. He caused also the Life of Alban to be translated from the Latin into our vulgar tongue, and the copy to be deposited on the shrine for edification: and this cost 3l. During his first rule he had left a new and solemn missale in his private chapel (b), for the use of his successor; but John Stoke sold this and 2 phials of silver gilt, to a monk of Wyndham. Wheathampstead, on his return, demanded them, and caused them to be placed in that little chapel, where now his bones rest; assigning them for the use of those who should celebrate mass in that place.

(a) Panni, qui vulgariter ARRAS vocati sunt.

(b) In the abbot's lodging.

His predecessor had caused divers barriers and defences to be constructed about town ; but had left them incomplete, and the costs of them unpaid. And, in payments to the workmen in compensation, he expended above 12l. John VI. re-
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He caused an old chapel (dedicated to St. Andrew, and situate on the north side toward the west door, without) to be demolished, and then rebuilt ; having procured stone from the quarry, and furnished ornaments to the value of ten marcs of gold. He also caused the cloister to be new glazed, and with painted or stained glass, expressing a series of scripture histories with verses (a).

In the contest which he supported against Thomas Charleton, knt. concerning Burston, and in which the knight, though speaker of the House of Commons, was frustrated, he expended above 23l.

A special assize was holden in the town of St. Albans. And here the said knight was compelled to appear at the bar (b), and confess his error in the whole claim, and renounce the same for ever. He purchased, at Barnet, of one John Cowper, a parcel of land, for which he received a yearly rent of 15s. and paid for it above 10l.

The manor of Legates, in Walden, was burdened with a quit-rent of 1cs. 2d. payable to the manor of Bushey, in the parish of Kympton. And he procured a discharge of this quit-rent, and the lord of Bushey quitted his claim : the expence incurred exceeded 10 marcs.

He also had caused a picture of the saint, curiously enriched with gold and silver, and suspended over the shrine, to be made at his own expence. It is now and long since perished ; but the ornament exceeded the merit of the artist, and cost above 50 marcs, beside 795 ounces of plate silver used in embellishing.

The manor of Aynells, below Redburn, which he obtained from a lady of rank, named Joan Spendlove, as before mentioned, for an annuity of 40s. cost him a present expence of 18l. He caused also two psalteries to be made at a great expence. He procured also, from the lord of More Park, who was then seneschal, or steward of the king's household, a mansion in London on the banks of the Thames ; in recompence for the quit-rents and debts due from the said lord to the abbey.

(a) A copy of all these is to be seen in the Bodl. Lib. Oxf. MS. Laud, E. 4. This practice of adorning the walls with verse, &c. had begun in the time of De la Mare. Pictures and painting is the first mode of instruction, and writing is an additional improvement.

(b) Ad barreram accedere.

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cho'en.

He caused to be made a pair of basons of silver, gilt, and placed on the great altar, to the no small ornament of that place; and these cost above 7l. He made also, for the use of the choir, a set of organs(a); and these cost above 50l. The tithes of Luton, lying up and down the parish, and at a distance from the farm, or grange, used to receive them; he procured a manse and 17 acres at Newmill End, for the better convenience of gathering them. He recovered also the lands of Blackets, Spyneys, and Conellys, which had been alienated, or unjustly withholden from the abbey; so that they were now recovered, and returned to their old masters.

The manor of De la Mare had been formerly a grant from some royal donor; but, having been alienated, it was by this abbot recovered, and appropriated to his church; and he expended in this acquisition more than 1000 marks. But, whether this was at the visitation already mentioned, (p. 359), and with the lord of Sudley, my author does not say.

One of the last acts of John's rule and government, and indeed but just before his death, was a petition to the new king Edward IV. on the impoverished state of the abbey; for, not to mention the frequent great charge of sustaining the armed soldiers which passed through this town, whether of friends or of foes, the spoil and depredation by them committed, the loss of many of their estates during the late civil wars, and the ruin of many tenants on such as they could keep, the waste made by John Stoke, and the losses by him suffered, had never been recovered; and this impoverished condition of the revenue put John on a supplication to the king for relief. Edward granted, in part, the prayer of the petition; but not by commanding restitution of the lost estates, but by an honorary augmentation of the abbot's civil power. For, now it was, that he granted a power to hold pleas of all felonies, in as ample a manner as was usually given by commission to the judges of assize. The grant runs thus: 'The king to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, 'dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, head officers, ministers, and 'all bailiffs, and others his faithful, greeting. Whereas, the abbot 'of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford, which is the foundation 'of our progenitors, formerly kings of England, and of our patronage,

(a) Par organorum; quo aut visu pulchrius aut auditu suavius non facile poterat reperiri.

' is diminished in its possessions, as well in spirituals as in tem-
 ' porals, and the church manors, lordships, granges, and other the
 ' buildings to the said abbey belonging, by the insolence and John VI. re-
chosen.
 ' wrong governance of the pastors there, being so much wasted and
 ' destroyed, that, unless they are soon repaired, they will (which
 ' God forbid!) in a short time fall to ruin; which said possessions, and
 ' also the rents, profits, and revenues, of the said possessions, manors,
 ' lordships, granges, and other the lands and tenements to the abbey
 ' of ancient times collated, yearly coming, will scarce suffice, as we
 ' have heard, for the divine duties, and other works of piety in the
 ' said abbey to be celebrated, and the repairs of the said church,
 ' manors, granges, and other buildings, to be sustained and supported.
 ' We, being willing to succour the said abbey, and all the possessions
 ' thereof, as much as in us lies, and all the possessions to maintain
 ' and support, and rather to augment than diminish; and also, for
 ' the inward affection and devotion which we bear and have to that glo-
 ' rious martyr, St. Alban, and to whose honour the church is dedicated,
 ' being willing to adorn the said abbey with divers liberties, franchises,
 ' privileges, and immunities, of our special grace; and to the honour
 ' of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; the Holy Mary, his mother; of the
 ' said St. Alban; and of all the heavenly court; we have granted,
 ' and, by this our present charter, do grant, for us and our heirs,
 ' as far as in us lies, to God and the church of St. Alban, to our be-
 ' loved in Christ, John, now abbot, and the convent of the same
 ' place, and to their successors for ever, that they shall have cogni-
 ' zance of all and all manner of pleas, arising or touching of lands
 ' or tenements, within their towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Wat-
 ' ford, and also the hundred of Caisho, and all their whole liberty of
 ' St. Alban; and also of assizes of novel disseisin, mort ancestor, cer-
 ' tificates and attaints of the said lands and tenements, as before us and
 ' our heirs, our justices, and those of our heirs assigned, to take assizes
 ' in our county of Hertford, Middlesex, or elsewhere, taken or to be
 ' taken, arraigned or to be arraigned, or other our justices, or of our
 ' heirs, begun or to be begun; and also of attaints, debts, accounts,
 ' trespasses, convents, contempt, deceits, and of all other whatso-
 ' ever pleas and complaints, real, personal, or mixt, and pleas of the
 ' Crown, within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, any
 ' manner of way arising, or henceforward to arise; whereof the
 ' cognizance of the same, or of any of them to us or our heirs,
 ' or to our courts or of our heirs, doth belong, or in any manner of
 ' wife

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‘ wife ought, by the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their succeſ-
 ‘ ſors, or their attorney or attorneys in this behalf, before ſuch juſ-
 ‘ tices from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, to be challenged,
 ‘ and before the ſteward of the ſaid abbot and convent, for the time
 ‘ being, at the ſaid town of St. Alban or elſewhere, within the liber-
 ‘ ty aforesaid, and where it ſhall pleaſe them to be holden and deter-
 ‘ mined. And that the ſaid ſteward, ſo for the time being, ſhall hear
 ‘ and determine all and ſingular the ſaid things, according to the
 ‘ exigency of the law, within the ſaid town of St. Alban, or elſe-
 ‘ where, within the liberty aforesaid, ſo that none of our juſtices or
 ‘ of our heirs, barons or baron of our exchequer, or of our heirs,
 ‘ commiſſioners aſſigned to take inquiſitions, ſteward and maſſhal,
 ‘ or clerk of the market of our houſehold, or of our heirs, ſheriff,
 ‘ coroner, officer, or our miniſter, or of our heirs, ſhall any wiſe
 ‘ go within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid; nor ſhall
 ‘ any ways intermeddle within the towns, hundred, or liberty, aforesaid, or any parcel thereof; nor of any pleas there to be held, or
 ‘ within the ſaid town, hundred, or liberty, aforesaid, emerging or
 ‘ to emerge, nor of any jury or juries, pannel or pannels, inquiſition
 ‘ or inquiſitions, or of any other things, lands, tenements, or other
 ‘ cauſes or matter whatſoever, touching, or ariſing, or to ariſe, or
 ‘ concerning, the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, or any
 ‘ parcel thereof: unleſs only the ſteward, bailiffs, officers, or mi-
 ‘ niſters, of the aforesaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors for
 ‘ ever. We have alſo granted to the ſaid abbot and convent, that
 ‘ they and their ſucceſſors, by their letters patent, may make, con-
 ‘ ſtitute, and aſſign for ever, within the towns, hundred, and liberty,
 ‘ aforesaid, their juſtices to keep the peace within the ſame; and to
 ‘ hear and determine all manner of felonies, treſpaſſes, and ill doings,
 ‘ within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, happening and
 ‘ emerging; which ſaid juſtices, by them to be aſſigned, ſhall have
 ‘ the ſame power and authority within the towns, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforesaid, in all and by all, as any juſtices of the peace in
 ‘ the county of Hertford, or in any other county of our kingdom;
 ‘ ſo that neither of our juſtices of the peace in the county aforesaid,
 ‘ nor any other juſtices of our ſaid kingdom, unleſs only juſtices by
 ‘ the ſaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors, as aforesaid, to be
 ‘ aſſigned, ſhall make any ſittings within the town, hundred, and li-
 ‘ berty, aforesaid, nor ſhall inquire of any thing within the ſame ari-
 ‘ ſing, nor ſhall any manner of ways intermeddle. And that the ſaid
 ‘ abbot

‘ abbot and convent shall have a goal, within the town of St. Alban
 ‘ afore said, safely to keep felons and other malefactors in the same, John VI. re-
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 ‘ until from the same, according to the law and custom of our realm
 ‘ of England, they be delivered. And that the steward of the said
 ‘ abbot and convent, associating to themselves one or two skilful in
 ‘ the law, whereof the steward for the time being shall be always
 ‘ one, shall be our justices, and of our heirs, from time to time, to
 ‘ deliver that gaol of persons in the same being, and to the said prison,
 ‘ for whatsoever cause, to be committed; so that no justice or justices
 ‘ of us or our heirs, for the future to be assigned to deliver that goal
 ‘ by us or our heirs, shall any ways go into the said towns, hundred,
 ‘ or liberty, for this cause or any other cause whatsoever; and that
 ‘ the bailiff of the said abbot and convent, and their successors of the
 ‘ liberty afore said, for the time being, shall make, return, and take
 ‘ care of, all juries, pannels, inquisitions, attachments, and intendencies,
 ‘ to the afore said justices and steward, or two of them, as is afore said
 ‘ assigned, justices to deliver that gaol; and that the precepts, man-
 ‘ dates, warrants, and judgements, of the said justices and steward,
 ‘ or two of them, for the time being, shall do and execute, in all
 ‘ things, in the same manner and form, as any sheriff of our realm
 ‘ of England doth make return, take care of, and execute, in any
 ‘ manner of wise, to such justices assigned to deliver the gaols of
 ‘ our kingdom. And we have farther granted unto the said abbot
 ‘ and convent, and their successors, that they shall have within the
 ‘ towns, hundred, and liberty, afore said, assay and assize of bread,
 ‘ wine, beer, meat, and all other victuals, measures, and weights,
 ‘ whatsoever; and also of other things to the office of clerk of the
 ‘ market of our household belonging or appertaining, with the pu-
 ‘ nishment and correction of the same, and every thing which to
 ‘ that office doth appertain, to be made and exercised as often and
 ‘ when it shall be expedient and necessary, and also all fines, ran-
 ‘ soms, and amerciaments, and all other profits thereof coming; so
 ‘ that the clerk of the market of our household shall in no ways
 ‘ enter into the towns, hundred, or liberty, afore said, for any thing
 ‘ to be done or exercised belonging to such office.’

Then follows a clause forbidding the royal purveyors from taking
 any provision, horse, beast, or carriage, from any of the tenants of
 the abbey; or to enter, for that purpose, into the said towns, hun-
 dred, or liberty. And lastly, it is provided, that, if any defect or
 misinterpretation should arise in these letters patent, the same shall

John VI. re- be construed in favour of the abbot and convent, and other letters
 chosen. patent made to their satisfaction and advantage. Attested by the ve-
 nerable fathers,

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, of all England primate,
(Bouchier).

William *(Booth)*, of England primate, archbishop of York.

Thomas *(Kemp)*, bishop of London.

George *(Neville)*, bishop of Exeter, chancellor.

George, duke of Clarence.

Richard, duke of Gloucester.

Richard, earl of Warwick, *(Neville)*, chamberlain of England.

John, earl of Worcester, treasurer, *(Tiptoft)*.

Sir John Neville, of Mountague,

Sir William Hastyng, of Hastyng, chamberlain,

Sir John Fogg, treasurer of the household,

} knights.

Given by our hands, at Westminster, November 3, 1461.

Thus it appears, by this charter, or grant, that a kind of palatine jurisdiction was given to the abbot; such as still remains, and is enjoyed and possessed by the great prelates of the sees of Durham and of Ely. Which jurisdiction, though diminished in those churches at this time, and lessened by prudent concessions from time to time, were anciently a full regality of authority and power. And such was at this time given by young king Edward, as a compensation for the losses and damages the abbey had sustained; as if additional powers and accession of honours was a compensation for the ruin of their estates, and the loss of rents, &c. Here was given a full power of life and death, and the cognizance of all the most capital offences. Even treason was now cognizable in this court; but, it appears not that the great forfeitures, that follow the conviction of that offence, were yielded and granted to this supreme head of the same: and the several fines, penalties, and amerciaments, beside those that arose in the former quarter-sessions court, and which had always fallen to the abbey, could not probably be very great, or augment in any degree their impoverished revenue.

The gaol had ever belonged to the abbot, from the time of the first grant of the liberty to abbot Geoffry, in the time of Henry I. and now it was assigned to the custody of such criminals as fell under the new and higher jurisdiction. This new authority made it necessary to have a steward that was knowing in the laws and eminent in rank; or, if the old and former officer, called their seneschal, was possessed

possessed of the first property, the abbot chose to make an additional steward, who might possess the second, and act for them as a patron and friend at court; and thus, while the first officer sat on the bench, and conducted the legal proceedings of their court; the second was securing their interest above, and keeping up a good understanding with the Crown.

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These new powers and authorities were undoubtedly exercised: but nothing remains to shew the nature of their proceedings, what crimes were indicted, or what judgements were pronounced; for, all these records perished at the general wreck of the abbey, and of all its goods, at the dissolution. And, indeed, we learn only the name of their first new steward; which was Sir Williams Hastings, elected such soon after the grant. And it is doubtful who was the efficient man, that actually conducted the judicial and fiscal matters of the abbey; but it will be seen in the course of a few years who was that person then. It is to be observed here, that the town was not yet incorporated; but made a part of the liberty, and had no separate and distinct jurisdiction, and resorted for justice, on all occasions, to the quarter-sessions and new court of assize.

These powers remained, and were in force, until the 24th of Henry VIII. who, beginning to abridge all the corporate authorities of the clergy, passed an act in that year, entitled An Act for re-continuing Liberties in the Crown; which runs thus(a); ‘ And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition, soever, they be, from the first day of July, shall have any power or authority, to make any justices of eyre, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of gaol-delivery; but that all such offices shall be made by letters patent under the king’s great seal, in the name, and by the authority, of the king’s highness, and his heirs kings of this realm, in all shires, counties, counties palatine, and other places of this realm, Wales, and the marshes of the same, or in any other his dominions, at their pleasure and wills, in such manner and form as justices of the peace, and justices of gaol delivery, be commonly made in every shire of this realm; any grants, usages, prescriptions, allowance, act or acts of parliament, or any other thing or things to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also(b), that all cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within this realm, which

(a) Section II.

(b) Section VI.

‘ have

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‘ have liberty, power, and authority, to have justices of peace, or
‘ justices of gaol-delivery, shall still have and enjoy their liberties and
‘ authorities in that behalf, after such like manner as they have been
‘ accustomed, without any alteration by occasion of this act, any thing
‘ in this act or any article therein contained, to the contrary thereof,
‘ notwithstanding.’

And thus did this act abolish the new and exalted prerogative given to the abbot by Edward IV. and not only the authority aforesaid sunk down to its former and ancient level, whereby the quarter-session was the only criminal court subordinate to the abbot; but the very name and dignity of steward was abolished; and remained so, until the said office was revived under the new incorporation by the charter of Edward VI. in 1553.

The power of the abbot, and the authority of his court of assize, being thus reduced by the 24th of Henry VIII. and his whole power being abolished by the act of the 31st of Henry, the sessions was the only criminal court; and the justices of the liberty, made by the king after the 24th of Henry, constituted the only jurisdiction: and this fell to a perfect resemblance of all other quarter-sessions. But, by the charter of incorporation of Edward, in 1553, a special clause is inserted, that they may and shall have their gaol within the limits of the borough, for the custody of prisoners taken within the liberty. And it is also provided, in the same clause, ‘ that the justices of the liberty shall have power to keep and hold their sessions
‘ of the peace and goal delivery, within the said borough; and that
‘ they may come thither with all their bailiffs, constables, and other
‘ officers and servants, whatsoever; and with such other person and
‘ persons as are required to be at the said sessions and goal delivery,
‘ in such manner and form as they have heretofore done, and have
‘ been accustomed to do; any thing in these presents contained to
‘ the contrary notwithstanding.’ And the place, where the said sessions had been ever held and continued to be held, was the great room over the gateway; and here also sat the steward, and convened his court of assize, and general commission of oyer and terminer. This use of the said room continued, for all session-business, until the year 1651; at which time the justices of the liberty, Sir John Witte-
wonge of Harden, William Leman of Northaw, Henry Ewer of Watford, John King of St. Alban’s town, Alban Coxe of Beaumonts, and John Marsh of Shenley, purchased the upper part of the great gate; (for, the lower rooms only on the ground, and composing the
liberty-

liberty-prison, belonged to the liberty or the justices thereof;) and converted the whole upper part into a house of correction. This is a condition of the purchase; and the justices then, by agreement with the mayor, and justices, and corporation, held their session in the Town-Hall; and have ever since continued so to do. Which Town-Hall had been the property of the abbey at the dissolution; and was called their Chancel-House; and, in 1553, is granted, by that express name, to serve the corporation for their council chamber, as is set forth in the charter, section 22.

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The said justices purchased the said great gate of one Godfrey Ellis, and Griffantius Phillips, of Gloucester, as being interested therein, and having property in the same; 'then known by the name of the Great Gate, and being part or parcel of the dissolved monastery of St. Albans; and since then belonging to the office of the equeries of the stables there, and situate, lying, and being, on the north side of the court or yard, commonly called the abbey-court; together with one little garden to the same premises adjoining, and one stable, or edifice, standing or being on the east part of the said great gate; to the said justices, their heirs and assigns, for ever.' And thus the mayor and corporation, having had their council-chamber and borough-gaol from the year 1553, now gave leave to the justices of the liberty to sit there, and hold their sessions; and the forementioned indenture, after reciting a former indenture of the purchase from Ellis and Phillips, set forth the mayor and principal burgesses as a party: and by this indenture the said 'justices do hereby covenant, promise, grant, and agree, to and with the mayor and principal burgesses and their successors, for ever, for and on behalf of the inhabitants of the liberty aforesaid, that all and singular the premises shall be, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, peaceably and quietly used, enjoyed, and employed, as aforesaid, (*that is, by the inhabitants of the liberty,*) without any claim, title, or right, to be thereunto or any part thereof made by them the said justices or their respective heirs and assigns, to their own use or uses. And the said justices do farther covenant with the said mayor and principal burgesses, that they will and shall stand seized of the said premises in trust, and to the use, intent, and purpose, aforesaid, and to none other whatsoever.'

The above title of equerry was a kind of office anciently belonging to the abbots, and included the care of the stables; and it was held by a patent from the abbots, with a certain salary annexed.

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On the dissolution, the said office devolved to the crown; at this time, rests in the crown, and hath been granted from the king's exchequer at divers times.

Another place and office under the abbot, and probably bestowed by patent, (as it hath been of late years since the whole property, rights, and privileges, have devolved to the crown by the dissolving act,) was that of the gaoler, or porter, of the great gate. Gates and gateways were anciently applied to the use of a prison; not through any necessity, but perhaps with a view to excite compassion and charity to the imprisoned, in all passengers and visitors; and here this office hath been granted for many years to the family of Kentish, and a salary of 11l. 1s. 4d. affixed and payable out of the exchequer. The first grant, or letters patent to this family, that I have seen, bears date in 1702, in the beginning of queen Anne's reign; and gives the office to Ralph Kentish: 'to hold, exercise, and enjoy, by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies, during his natural life, together with the ancient fee or salary of 11l. 1s. 4d. *per annum*, payable as formerly by the receiver-general of the county of Hertford at Lady Day and Michaelmas, by equal portions, and all other fees, profits, and commodities, to the said offices belonging.'

But, before the grant to Ralph Kentish, William Morris was appointed to these offices, by a patent under the exchequer seal, dated December 19, 1695, on the death of Thomas Sturgeon, and Roger Sturgeon, with the usual fees and the use of a chamber. And the patent hath been renewed at divers times, since the death of Morris, to the family of Kentish; and William Kentish, by patent dated June 29, 1787, is the present gaoler and porter of the great gate so appointed.

Another office inherent in the abbot, and granted by patent under the abbey seal, was that of hundredor. This had been an ancient office, and of great port and consequence in the Saxon times; when almost all business of contention and dispute, as well as of right and property, was determined in this court. And the duty of hundredor, or, as otherwise called in the Norman times, the bailiff of the hundred, was to preside in this court; give judgement, and receive the fines and amercements for the use of the king, or that lord to whom the king granted them: and every hundred had an officer of this kind. When Henry I. granted the hundred of Caishow to the abbot, with certain privileges and prerogatives, he granted a degree of his royal authority, and gave some kind of palatine jurisdiction,
and

and invested the abbot with a part of his royal privilege. By this <sup>John VI. re-
chosen.</sup> immunity it was denominated a liberty; and the abbot had power to create an hundredor, or bailiff: he was often called seneschal or steward; but under that title was included, together with being judge of the hundred courts, the care and managements of the abbey's estates. This office of hundredor was always conferred by patent; was given, in the time of Richard III. to William lord Hastings; and, after his death, to Sir William Catesby; but who succeeded him is not known. At the dissolution this office was found among the possessions of the abbey, and laid dormant in the crown until the 9th of king James; at which time that king made a grant, or donation, of divers small estates that had fallen into the crown; and, among the rest, of this office of hundredor, belonging to the ancient dissolved abbey of St. Alban. These grants were made to George and Thomas Whitmore, esqrs. of London; and from them they have come, by purchase, to the earls of Salisbury: and this office of hundredor is now vested in the present noble marquis of that title. But so much of the grant as relates to this abbey may be seen in the Appendix (a).

The great care and attention of Wheathamstead (b), to put into good condition all their farms and other buildings, and to make other improvements, was manifested by his instituting a new officer, called The Master of the Works. This began in 1429, as I have already noted; but it was the space of three years before the respective duties of this office could be settled, and the pope's bull obtained for confirmation of the same. In 1432, it was allotted by the body, and confirmed by the pope, that all their rents in Bedfordshire should be applied to this office. It was called in the Latin epistles to the pope, and in the instruments to establish it, by the appellation of *Nova Ordinatio*. The rents to be applied were from Clophall, or Beaulieu, and other farms in the same county, 24l. 6s. 8d. All the rents of Gorham and Westwick (except the woods) amounting to 25l. 6s. 0d. The tenants in this manor are 38 in number, all specified by name; to this was added the farm or rent of the manor of Gorham, 6l. 13s. 4d. and the pasture or keeping of 200 sheep. Rent in London assigned to this office was the sum of 6l. 13s. 4d. arising from a tenement in Al-

(a) N° IX.

(b) What follows relating to this abbot is extracted from a MSS. written by Blake-ney, secretary to Ramridge, *de terris aliquisitis per Joan. Wbat. et Tho Ramridge*, and now in the Library of the Royal Society, London.

John VI. re-derichegate-street. From certain tenants in Barnet, 3l. 17s. 11d. From
 chofen. Newlane, 7l. 16s. 9d. From Squillers, 13l. 6s. 8d. Together with
 other rents from other places, amounting in the whole to 132l. 15s. 0d.

Now in this *Nova Ordinatio*, as it was called, some of this money was to be applied by the Magister Operis to celebrate anniversaries; in particular, for the students at Oxford to celebrate a day with festivity and prayer for the soul of Robert D'Aubigny, the founder of Beaulieu; and another for the soul of this present abbot, and of his parents. A further sum for the purchase of torches (*torticiorum*) on certain solemn days. Another sum of 13s. 4d. to the reader of grammar, and to the keeper of this chest no less than 3l. 6s. 8d. And in consideration of the remainder being applied toward repairs, &c. the several officers, who before were chargeable with certain sums for that purpose, are now discharged and excused; to the amount of 56l. 7s. 0d.

The abbot had procured a new declaration, from the King, of the Liberty, that is, reciting and confirming the grant of Henry I. to Geoffrey.

The several charges of this business are here stated; and, after reciting the payment to the clerk of the Chancery, to William Paston, the justice, for amending and correcting the bill, and to the clerk of the seneschal for writing the same; and to Edward Hall, the king's esquire, for his labours in expediting the same, it recites a sum of forty shillings to Thomas Norton, the duke of Gloucester's chaplain, for his effectual promoting of the same; then for inrolling the same, 50l. for John Wells, his expences in riding often to London on this business, 40s. Then, for a certain book presented to the duke of Gloucester at his coming to the abbey, 6l. 13s. 4d. for one Palfrey given to his highness, 3l. 6s. 8d. and in money and gowns given to his chaplains and his esquires, 11l. 6s. 8d. This whole charge amounted to more than 80l.

It appears also that he gave a pair of gilt basons to queen Catharine, that cost 55l. and another pair to the duchess of Bedford of the value of 25l. and a large cup of silver-gilt to Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, valued at 13l. 13s. 4d. and another of like value to the duchess of Bedford. In entertaining the young king, at his first visit after his coronation, he expended 85l. He gave also to Sir William Babynton, chief justice of the Common Bench, a silver cup, value 5l. and the like to Thomas Bekynton, official of the arches. He

sent

sent three saltcellars to the scholars at Oxford, worth 4l. and, to compleat the repair of their chapel, 20l. in money. To a certain monk of Bury (Lydgate probably), for translating the Life of Alban into the vulgar tongue, he sent as a present 3l. 6s. 8d. He sent to pope Martin a silver cup and ewer (*aquario*) gilt, worth 16l. 3s. 4d. He gave to duke Humphry three books, value 10l. one of which was a Cato with a glossary, and the other two of his own composing. He gave to the duke of Bedford a book of astronomy, value 3l. 6s. 8d. many other cups he presented; and to the cell at Tynmouth, a purple cope that cost 20l. The whole value of these presents came to 326l. 15s. 8d. John VI. re-
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The several repairs and improvements made within the convent amounted to 886l.

Repairs within the church, 142l. 15s.

In providing chasubles and copes, 200l.

In the making of one mitre, 100 marcs.

In the making of one pastoral staff, 50l.

For other copes, basons, fur robes, &c. to the amount in all of 641l.

Improvements within the choir, 80l.

In the refectory, in seven salt-cellars, weight 7 lb. 10 oz. 16l. 14s.

In providing six spoons, weight 8 oz. 17s.

One myrrhine cup for the side-board (a), 13s. 4d.

In repairs about the abbot's lodging, and the making the pent-house (b), or walk leading to the same, 126l. 6s. 8d.

In the purchase of plate for the ewry (c), 151l. 9s. 11d.

In purchasing one suit of pontificals for the abbot's chapel, 5l.

In repair of buildings within the town, 565l. 3s. 10d.

In repairs in the sundry manors, 580l. 17s. 2d.

At Oxford in building a chapel and a wall, 108l. 13s. 4d.

The sum total of all his expences in the purchase of new estates was 1362l. 17s. 1d.

Of which the purchase of the manor of Newlane, and of discharging the same from the Mortmain, was 128l. 6s. 2d.

For the manor of Butterwyk, 111l.

For the manor formerly of Thomas Legat in Walden, besides a corrody of 10l. a year, and he lived only two years, 20l.

(a) Pro desco.

(b) Penticii.

(b) Gardroba.

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For

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For the purchase of Harpsfield, 13l. 6s. 8d.

For the lands of Simon Pekfithle in Barnet, 100 marcs.

For the purchase of squyllers, 200l.

For the purchase of the manor of Radwell, from Sir John Fray, chief baron of the Exchequer, and discharging the same from Mortmain, 262l.

For the manor of Burston and discharge, 267l. 3s. 4d.

To Sir Thomas Charlton, *pro sua benevolentia in venditione* (of what is uncertain), 12l. 3s. 4d.

He expended, in procuring the union of Beaulieu, and a release of the Advowson of that priory, from the lord Grey de Ruthyn, the sum of 79l. 6s. 8d.

It is also, saith Blakeney, worthy of notice and of record, as it is also of imitation, that the abbot, in making these acquisitions never sold any wood more than the usual quantity, never granted a corrody to any one for life, never mortgaged or borrowed money upon any one farm, or pawned the least valuable article of the house; but, by his known integrity and punctuality, procured universal quiet and satisfaction.

During this abbot's time many rich presents were made to the convent: as,

By the illustrious lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, one whole dress, with three copes, and a complete dress for the altar, of the value of 200 marcs.

By her also, a pair of censers, value 40 marcs.

By Sir John Cornwall, lord of Amptehall, one compleat vestment, with three copes, and a compleat dress for the altar worth 40l.

By the lady Ann Tyrell, one cup of gold adorned with precious stones, worth 100l.

By the bishop of Litchfield (Heyworth) a whole suit of cloth gold, for the altar; and ten copes, of the same, valued at 100l.

By the same, a large missale for the use of visitors and guests, of the Salisbury form, worth 13l. 6s.

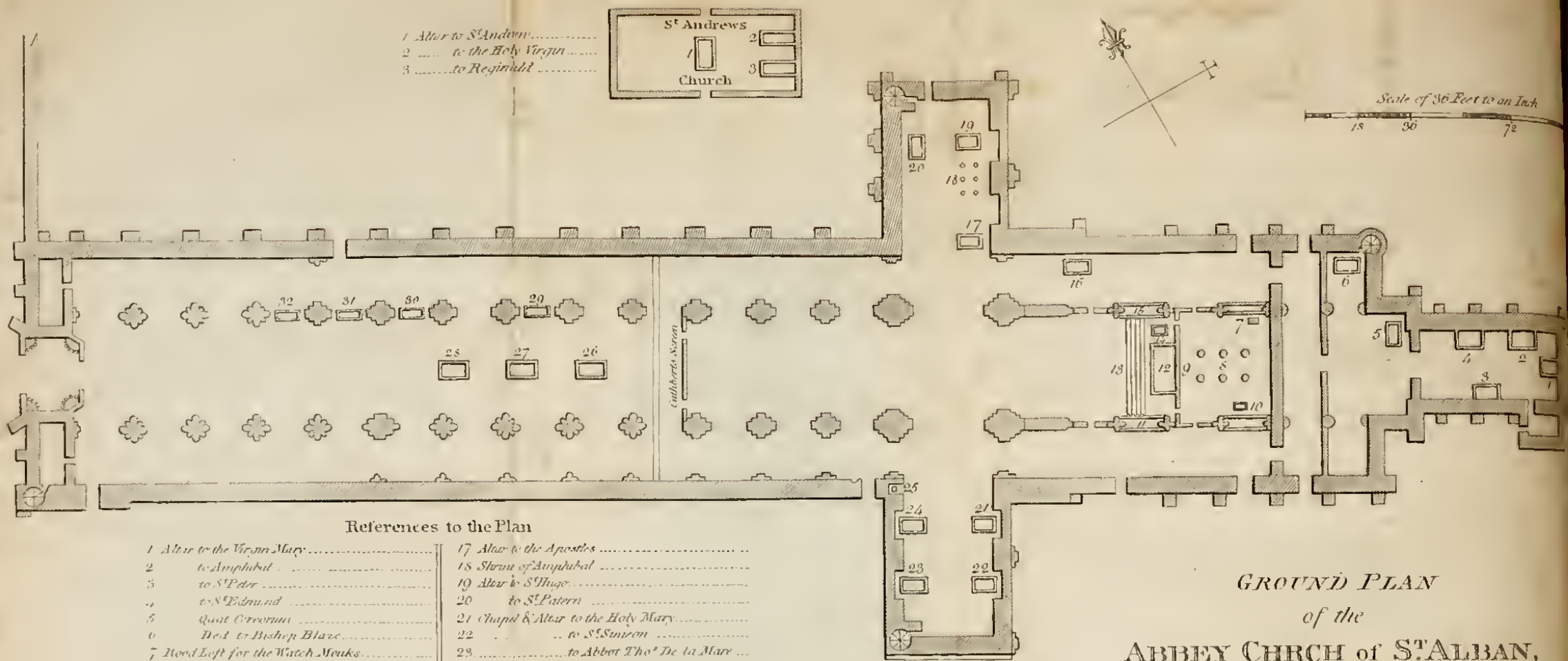
By him also, one large Morning Prayer in two volumes, for their use likewise, worth 10l. 8s.

The books which he caused to be composed, that is, to be written and copied, are here recited, and among them is,

For the making of one Cato, with a Glossary, 6l. 13s. 4d.

For the making of a book on the Consolation of Philosophy, 5l.

For



References to the Plan

1 Altar to the Virgin Mary	17 Altar to the Apostles
2 to Amphibal	18 Shrine of Amphibal
3 to St Peter	19 Altar to St Hugo
4 to St Edmund	20 to St Patern
5 Quait Ocreum	21 Chapel & Altar to the Holy Mary
6 Bed to Bishop Blaze	22 to St Simeon
7 Hood Left for the Watch Menks	23 to Abbot Tho ^s De la Mare
8 The Saints Shrine	24 to St John
9 Where the Screen was built in Edw 4 th time	25 Chamber for the Watch Menks
10 Tomb & Vault of Duke Humphrey	26 Altar to the Blessed Virgin
11 Tomb of Whostumpstead Erected in 1450	27 to St Thomas
12 Great Altar	28 to St Oswyn
13 Steps leading to it	29 to St Cytha
14 Altar in the Presbytery	30 to St Wulphstan
15 Tomb of Tho ^s Ramvridge, who Died in 1523	31 to St Sebastian
16 Altar to our Saviour	32 to St Catherine

GROUND PLAN
of the
ABBNEY CHURCH of ST. ALBAN,
with the Altars and Chapels
as it was in the time of
HENRY 6th

For the making of Gorham upon Luke, 4l. This Gorham was a ^{John VI. re-}
learned monk in this house. choven

lix For the making the Polycraticon of John Salisbury, 40s.

With many others.

His own books also are enumerated, viz. for the making of one book, intituled, *Granarium Joannis de Loco Frumenti in quatuor vol. divisum*, 20 marcs. In making another, intituled, *Palearium Poetarum*, 40s. and other books, which have all perished.

He made also many large books for the choir, among which was a *Gradale*, in 4 vol. and valued at 20l.

C H A P T E R VIII.

WILLIAM ALBAN (a).

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

A Certificate was sent to the king, to inform him of the vacancy, beginning thus, ‘Metuendissimo ac excellentissimo dom. Edwardo,’ &c. and dated 1460, Jan. 26. Then followed letters of certification to all the priors, setting forth that John had died on the 20th of January, and that the election would be held on the 25th of February following, and to intreat their presence therein; and these were sent to Tinmouth and all the other cells; and bore date on the 30th of January 1460. But the king’s licence was not granted until the 23d of January, in the 4th year of his reign; when he consented also to the restitution of the temporalities. However, Alban was chosen, and he acted in all the functions of abbot without any scruple: and we find not that the king’s escheator made a seizure of any thing, nor took any advantage of the vacancy; nor did the new abbot go to court to swear fealty and allegiance. It is probable that the distracted state of the crown might cause these omissions on the part of Edward, who was now at the head of armies, and fighting to secure a throne which the Parliamen had just voted

(a) The life of this abbot is taken chiefly from a Register of Alban, in the Bodleian Library.

to him: and the abbot did not choose to hasten in proofs of his loyalty, while Henry was alive, and no lawful sovereign yet acknowledged. The abbot, however, proceeded to every act and duty which his new honour required; and in this year he presented to the bishop of Lincoln, Humphry Grainger (who is called a chaplain), for the rectory of Potsgrove, this church being vacant by the free resignation of Thomas Baker; and soon after, in June, the vicarage of Sandrugge was given to William Tyler, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Ridley; and Codicote vicarage was given to John Harding, chaplain.

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

A provincial chapter of the Benedictine Order had been held last year at Northampton; and the abbot of Peterborough was there deputed to visit all the monasteries in the diocese of Lincoln. And he signifies, by a letter dated the 4th of January 1460, that he would visit the monastery of St. Alban. The abbot, with much form and deliberation, in chapel assembled, consents; and writes for answer, that they shall, with great joy, await his visitation.

Henry Castell resigns the vicarage of Hexton, and in a Latin form to this purpose. In nomine Dei, amen. Coram vobis reverendo in Christo patre et dom. dom. Willielmo &c. ego Hen. Castell vicarius perpetuus eccles. paroch. de Hexton vestræ exemptæ jurisdictionis, volenti ex affectione ex certis causis veris et hic me ad hoc moventibus a cura et regimine dictæ vicariæ penitus exoneravi. Et ipsam vicariam meam cum omnib. pertin. in vestras hic manus non metu fraude aut dolo ductus sed pura sponte simpliciter absolutè resigno. Ab eademque et ejus possess. re & verbo totaliter hinc recedo.

This was done in the study of the abbot; and in the presence of him, of John Payton Mag. decret. and of Dr. William Pope, who had the jurisdiction belonging to the Papal, official, and Imperial, notary, and of Robert Chaunter, a chaplain.

In December 1460 Thyrsfeld, or Turvil, (in Bucks), then a vicarage, was given to Thomas Shave, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Lee; and Sudbury, in Suffolk, then a vicarage, was given to Robert Hyndwell. In 1462, on July 3, the vicarage of Rugge (Ridge) was conferred on Mr. James Waleys, chaplain, at the instance of Henry Frowyk, esq. and this reason is given 'Because the late vicar, John Bernard, had been indicted by the parishioners of Hadley, in the county of Middlesex, for certain deep treasons and felonies, on which account he had taken flight and absented himself from the place.'

Will. III. the
34th abbot.

In 1465, the abbot of Abyndon sent letters to Alban, to propose an appointment of a prior to superintend the studies of the young men at Cambridge; and Richard Thylbury, a monk of St. Mary, at York, was appointed to that office. In the year 1466, the church of East Barnet, then called a rectory (a), was given to Richard Bennet. This year there was a manumission to William Nash, and Robert, his son, to Sandrugge, *ab omni Jugo Servitutis*. And soon after, the same was granted to Thomas Atwode, and his son, of Baldock, *nativos de Dominio suo de Newenham*. This was a release or enfranchisement of their persons from the services of villanage; and this year also St. Peter's vicarage was resigned in form by Robert Chaunter, above-mentioned, and given to Edmond Westby. In 1467 four young men, named Thomas Hanke, Richard Pernham, John Maynard, and Thomas Auncell, were admitted to the habit of a monk. They made profession before the great altar, in the presence of the abbot, then officiating in his pontific robes. This was called *Rasura Monachorum*; and was practised every third or fourth year; when there were five or six candidates or novices. In 1470 Great

(a) The rectors of East Barnet have been the following persons :

- 1471, Richard Bennet.
- Anthony Blage.
- 1553, William Laruke.
- 1567, John Underne.
- 1591, Dr. Edward Grant (b).
- 1601, Edward Munnes.
- 1603, Matthias Milward.
- 1609, John Goodwyn.
- 1679, John Goodwyn, probably his son.
- 1681, Robert Taylor.
- 1719, Gilbert Burnet, second son of bishop Burnet.
- 1724, William Day.
- 1733, Dr. Richard Bundy.
- 1739, David Beaufort.
- 1743, Samuel Grove.
- 1769, Benjamin Underwood.

Before the incumbency of Dr. Richard Bennet there were two parishes (as now), and served by the same priest; but although John Moot had built a church or chapel at Market Barnet, for, that is the meaning of Chipping, yet much neglect of duty and irregularity ensued; and the parishioners of Chipping Barnet complained to the abbot, William Alban; who directed that Sir Richard Bennet, the rector, should provide a deputy (c). A proof this that East Barnet is the Mother Church, and that the rectory house was situate in that parish.

(b) Of whom see Bentham's History of Ely, p. 253.

(c) Dr. Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. V. p. 253.

Stanmer was vacant; and a handsome letter was sent to the abbot by George Nevil, archbishop of York, begging the presentation, for this turn, for his chaplain William Syngleton. The archbishop dates his letter from his manor of De la Moor, in Rickmersworth. This was the great archbishop, who was brother to the famous earl of Warwick, and who gave the grand dinner (still upon record), when installed at York, in 1466. He now lived at Moor Park, built a large house, and sometimes entertained the young king here; having probably purchased that interest in the estate which Sir Ralph Buttiler parted from and sold. And in this year the abbot, being possessed of the priory of Pembroke, appointed Ralph Roose to be prior. In 1471, he presented to Abbots Aston; to Brantfield; to Middleton Keynes; to Radwell, a rectory; to Norton, a vicarage; and to Idelfree, a rectory; and, in 1473, to St. Stephen, a vicarage.

Will. III. the
35th abbot.

In this monastic rule and government, where obedience and submission was not only a law but a virtue also, we may perceive how necessary it was that forms and ceremonies should be kept up by those who ruled and directed. And accordingly every event, even the most trifling, was conducted with much form and solemnity; for instance, the abbot had been accustomed to have from the chace of Horewode, near their estate of Winslow, three bucks and three does, at two several times, viz. on Holy Rood Day, 3 fat bucks, *tres feras quæ damæ vocantur*; and, on the Feast of the Purification, 3 fat does. He sends a pompous Latin letter (for, in Latin every pleasure of his will was made known) that he would have *tres damas masculos* on the Feast of St. Peter, and *tres famellæ feras damas* at the Feast of the Nativity. ‘And these to be given to us and our successors for ever.’

And in the three following events great solemnity and form was used in composing the Latin letters then written on the occasion. In 1473, at the general chapter of the Benedictine order, holden at Northampton, our abbot was appointed to make a visit of the monastery of Glastonbury; and the abbot of Eynsham to visit St. Albans. In 1475, the vicar of Rickmersworth, and the vicar of Sandrugge, had a mind to travel: they asked leave: something more than devotion to Rome tempted: leave was given, in form, to visit the *Apostolica Limina*. This year also, solemn letters patent are granted to one Ralph Ferrer, constituting him master of the hospital of St. Julian. And all this was done in a communication by Latin.

Bushey was in the patronage of George duke of Clarence, and, at the intercession and petition of the abbot, was given to John Hylle. And

Will. III. the 35th abbot. the abbot gave the vicarage of Kymbell Parva to William Hall, chaplain. In the second year of Edward's reign, he had given leave, by letters patent, to bring all prisoners who should be taken in the towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Watford, and the hundred of Caislo, to trial, by their seneschal, or steward: this privilege was given, that the felons might not be kept a long time in custody. And the abbot appoints the seneschal, taking unto him two or three of his majesty's justices of the peace, to proceed on the commission of oyer and terminer, given by the king. This appointment was given to the seneschal by the abbot's mandate, directed and dated April 20, 1476.

And this grant of Edward is the foundation of that great mistake made by Sir Henry Chancey, when he says that the liberty was first constituted by this king, and all the civil rights thereof then first granted to the abbot. William Alban died in 1476.

WILLIAM WALLINGFORD.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. The register of William Wallingford begins August 4, 1476, and of Edward IV. the 16th. Alban had died, on the 1st day of July, in the clock-chamber; and his funeral obsequies were performed by the right reverend *John Hunden*, then prior of King's Langley, lord bishop of Landaff. The usual certificate was sent to the king, with a petition for the restitution of the temporals. William Wallingford, their prior, was elected: and, this being made known to the king in form, he grants a confirmation, and restores the temporalities on the 10th of August, 1476; and, on the 13th, Thomas Nayland, the co-quinarius, was elected to be prior. The bishop made some stay here, abode often at King's Langley, and lodged one night together with the abbot at Tydenhangre. It was customary for the abbot to swear allegiance, and the very form, now sworn to by William, is extant in these words, 'I shall faithful be and true; and faith and truth shall have to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of England, of life and lymme and of earthly worship, for to lif and die agenst all pepell, &c. &c. So help me God and his Seints.' Norton,

ton, the vicar of St. Stephen, was allowed to be absent; but, by a will. IV. the letter of concession from the abbot. The advowson and patronage of two rectories, viz. of Barnet and of Tenby in South Wales, were now given to Richard, duke of Gloucester, styled *Magni Camerarii et Admiralli Angliæ*. In 1476, a commission, in form, was given to the archdean and two or three others, to examine heretics. This same year the patronage of Walynton was given up by the abbot, for himself and his successors, to George, duke of Clarence, and to his assigns, for ever: and, about this time, the abbot granted the next turn, to present, to Cicely the king's mother, of the rectory of St. Peter in the Chepe (East Cheap) in London. One Sanimes, who is styled perpetual vicar of Luton, had made a will, and disposed of his effects, leaving Thomas Ramrugge, now first mentioned, his executor, being his relation. But he could not act or accept the trust without leave of the abbot; and a specious form in Latin is here given. Banns of marriage had been used in all former times, and directed to be published thrice in the parish church: but here it occurs, that the abbot could give licence for two persons to be married in the chapel situated in his manor, in the parish of Bushey, although the banns had been published twice in the parish church: it is directed to the man named Kylborn, *ut absque ulteriore bannarum predicat. matrim. complere valeas; juribus, ad. ecc. de Bushey pertinent. salvois*; and this licence was dated *In manerio nostro de Titenbangre, anno 1476*. A licence, to the same effect and uses, was given also this year to one William Fitz, or Fitch, who had contracted marriage with Margaret Gylbert, a widow, in the parish of Rugge (Ridge), that they be married in the chapel situate *in our Manor de la Weld* (a). The abbot intreats the university of Cambridge to confer the degree of B. T. on John Woolman, *confratrem et commonachum*.

The new abbot had a mind to visit the cell at Hertford, and sent the following letter, in English, to certify the prior: ‘ Welbeloved ‘ Broder in God, I grete you welle; bating you have knowlache, that I ‘ purpose, with Goddes sufferance, for to be here with you in my pro-

(a) It is highly probable that this chapel is the same that was afterward called Colney Chapel; and, if so, this proves that the estate called Colney Chapel, though situate in Shenley (as part of the Weld or Wild Manor is), does lie in the manor of Weld. This chapel did serve for the devotion of that neighbourhood, and the great families there residing; and fell into disuse and decay only at the rebuilding of Shenley Church, viz. in the time of Henry VII. when, on rebuilding, it was much enlarged. The foundation of the former church is still visible, in very dry weather, in the church yard.

Will. IV. the
3^d abbot.

per parfone, accompayned with 20 horses, upon Monday the 28th day of this present Jule at my soper; and to sojourne with you unto the Thursday next ensuing in the morning, for to visit this my priory, in every matter and cause, according unto the laudable accustom of our religion. Wherefore to you priour, and to your broder everich and all, in the virtue of holy obedience, strictly I charge and command, that ye and they with orders, interessed in the said visitation, do your personalle attendaunce and obedience pay, &c. from Titenhanger.' Notice to the same purpose went forth to William Hardwyk, bachelor of divinity, that the abbot would visit the nunnery of the *Pray*, near St. Alban's town; and to inquire of the state of the said place and nunnery, as well in spirituals as in temporals. In this year the abbot gave away the vicarages of Sudbury, Sandrugge, St. Peter's, Morton, and Luton; and in March released Robert Heath of Codicote, *cum totâ sequelâ procreatâ et procreandâ*.

In 1478, the abbot granted to the queen, one turn, or presentation, of the vicarage of Winslow: about this time Nicolas Boston, who was archdeacon and almoner, was appointed to the priory of Tinmouth; to which it is remarked he set forth, but reached not the place in less than 10 days: and Rothebury was made archdeacon. In 1478, the abbot gave the living of Leechworth to Robert Byffet, at the instance of John Stourton of Hitchin; it had been vacated by the free resignation of Thomas Whitaker, into the hands of Thomas, lord bishop of Lincoln; and, the patronage being in the abbey, the abbot and convent could only present: whereas of such parish-churches as belonged *pleno jure* to the abbey, and of consequence partook of the exemption, the abbot was said to fill them by collation. In 1479, the abbot granted one pension of 5l. to John Barry, *jantylman*, with a long robe *de seſta generoſorum*, reaching to the heels of the said John, and to be worn in his manor of Biggyn, in the county of Bucks. In this year, Wyngrave and Shephall, two vicarages, were given; and William lord Hastings was made marshall, or equerry, for the lyfe of the present abbot; *habend. & tenend. omnia vadia, ffeoda, annuitates, liberas cameras, togas, stabula, sustentationes equorum, cum eorum ferruris*: these terms in the patent intimate, that it belonged to him to superintend the lodging and equipage of the abbey, uniting as it were the two great offices under the crown of high constable and earl marshal. In this year Leechworth and Abbot's Langley became vacant, and were given: and also the rectory of St. Michael, in Hogenlane,

lane, near Wode-frete, London, was given to Master John Cooke, ^{Will. IV. the 36th abbot.} doctor in laws.

In this year, a certain gentlewoman, named Elizabeth Catharine Holstead, widow, was admitted into the office of *anchorite* of St. Peter's. This was done with great solemnity, and by the abbot in person. It was a more than ordinary dedication of this woman to the devotion and religious offices of this church; for, living near it, she chose, rather than go into the sisterhood at Sopwell, to devote herself at the church of St. Peter. This office hath nothing now existing that bears any resemblance; but it implied a constant attendance on the holy offices.

Three years before, a letter had come from the king's exchequer, directing the abbot, or rather allowing him, to collect, for the use of the holy see, the first fruits or annates, and other payments, due to the pope, and arising within the abbot's jurisdiction: and this year, 1480, the pope's collector in England, by name John Gighe, came to the abbot, at his usual abode at Titenhangre, *causâ recreationis suæ*, it is said: he brought six servants and one chaplain, and staid six days. In this year, Henry, earl of Northumberland, grants unto the prior of Tynmouth (William), an annuity during the said lord's pleasure, of 10l. a year. The grant is in English, 'given in my castell of Aylenwick in the 20th year of king Edward.' This earl was grandson of the earl of Northumberland, slain in 1455, and interred in this church; and who bore especial regard to the abbey, and its cell at Tinmouth: but, having taken offence at Boston, he secretly fomented the quarrel between him and Durwell, with a view to make Boston quit. A monk, who was styled Keeper of the chapel of St. Andrew, desired leave of absence, and petitioned the abbot in Latin: the abbot's answer is returned in Latin, in a solemn and formal epistle, granting leave; but on condition that he left some careful person in charge of the altar; and to give security that none of the *jocalia*, the ornaments or trinkets thereof, be lost. In this year a letter was sent to the bishop of Durham, praying him to admit a new prior to the cell of Tinmouth; and another letter to the bishop of Norwich, that he would admit and institute a new prior to Bynham. The abbot of Westminster also sent a letter, signifying that, in the last general chapter of the Benedictines holden at Northampton, he had been appointed to visit the abbey of St. Alban, in the place of the abbot of Eynsham. This he performed: and, in the return which he was directed to make to the next general chapter, he remarks only the names

Will. IV. the names and number of the monks found in this monastery, and they
 3rd abbot. are as follows :

- Dom. Wilhelmus Walyngford, *abbas*.
- Dom. Thomas Neylond, *prior et coquinarius*.
- Dom. Joan. Eyton, *custos feretri*.
- Dom. Richard Waltham, *cistarius*.
- Dom. Thomas Blaknall, *cistarius*.
- Dom. Thomas Albion, *prior Redborne*.
- Dom. Thomas Wytton, *burfarius*.
- Dom. Thomas Walmesford, *eleemosynarius*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Goodrede, *gistarius*.
- Dom. Shyrewsbury.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Hardwyk, *bacal. theolog. et cancellarius abbatis*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Hythefeld, *mag. novæ ordinationis*.
- Dom. Tho. Roose, *custos monialium*.
- Dom. Richardus Whillington, *tertius prior*.
- Dom. Galfridus Wyntyr.
- Dom. Torpurley, *subinfirmarius*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Holveden, *primus scrutator*.
- Dom. Johannes Rothebury, *archidiac. et sacrista*.
- Dom. Nychol. Kyrkeby, *precentor et magist. capellæ*.
- Dom. Joan. Basnet, *capellanus abbatis*.
- Dom. Henricus Martyn, *camerarius*.
- Dom. Georg. Colt, *subinfirm. et subcantor*.
- Dom. Thomas Ramrugg, *sub-prior*.
- Dom. Willielmus Whelpley, *ostilarius*.
- Dom. Johan. Sleethe, *tertius scrutator*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Malehurst.
- Dom. Joan. Bensted, *capellanus abbatis*.
- Dom. Johan. Havarde, *secundus scrutator*.
- Dom. Johan. Strenger, *sub-sacrista*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Andrew.
- Dom. Thomas Bayly.
- Dom. Thomas Sudbury, *cellerarius*.
- Dom. Adam Gelebrand.
- Dom. Rob. Netlam, *capellanus prioris*.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Baron, *magister novitiorum*.
- Dom. Johannes Thornton.
- Dom. Johan. Kyllingworth.
- Dom. Wilhelmus Runcham.
- Dom. Richard Felde.

Dom.

Dom. Wilhelmus Lything.
 Dom. Wilhelmus Martyn.
 Dom. Johan. Smirth.
 Dom. Thomas Retlond.
 Dom. Thomas Holgrave.
 Dom. Richard Beavyr.
 Dom. Johannes Martyn.
 Dom. Johannes Wodeley.
 Dom. Johannes Erly.
 Dom. Willielmus Holme,
 Dom. Thomas Patwyn,
 Dom. Johannes Auncelle,
 Dom. Johannes Lything,
 Dom. Thomas Williams,
 Dom. Richard Runkins,
 Dom. Johannes Maynard,
 Dom. Thomas Loryng,
 Num. Monach. 56.

} *Novicii.*} *Scolares.*

The new prior was lately sent to Tinmouth, to supply the place of Boston, who had run away and absented himself. And in September, a citation issued from the abbot, commanding him to surrender himself to the new prior within seven days, and to answer to such things as should be alleged against him, *Quæ tibi objicientur* (a). Then issued a command to the new prior to take into custody and examine the said Boston; and a letter to the bishop of Durham, to request his aid to take the fugitive, and to assist in repressing such insolence. In September, 1480, the abbot gave a release, and probably for some consideration, to William Hale, alias Mylward, and all his family born in the manor of Hexton, *ab omni jugo servitutis et bondagii*; and this was styled *Manumissio*. And, in December, John Hatfield, the prior of Belvoir, was directed to visit the cell of Tynmouth, and make inquiry into the state and condition thereof; for, it was now found, that grievous quarrels and suits at law had happened between Boston and William Durwell, and great losses had been incurred. In this year, the vicarages of Rickmersworth, Wyngrave, and Appulton, in Rydale in Yorkshire, had been given; and the next presentation of Leechworth (*quando contigerit*) granted to William Westby, esq. In the end of this year, a commission is given to Rothebury, the

(a) Another imitation of law process. The cause of Boston's flight may have been the prejudice taken against him by the earl of Northumberland; for, Durwell was the prior patronised by the earl.

Will. IV. the
36th abbot.

cellarer, and Thomas Ramrugge, sub-prior, to visit the cell of Sopwell, and there to set aside, from her office of prioress, Joan Chapell, now very old, and too infirm to discharge her duty in the care of the house; and to place in that office Elizabeth Webb, one of the sisters.

In 1480, the art of printing was introduced at this place, and the press set up in the monastery; while Caxton was printing in the monastery at Westminster: and another press was set up at Sion, though 40 years later than this time. The printer's name was John Herford, and he printed here the following books. *Typog. Antiq.*

1. *Rhetorica nova Fratr. Laur. Gal. de Saonâ Ord. Minorum.* Imp. ap. Villam St. Albani, 1480.

It is a small quarto, and was in Dr. Mead's collection.

2. *Alberti Liber modorum significandi*, 1480.
3. *Incipiunt Exempla Sacræ Scripturæ*, 1480.
4. *In Aristotelis Physica*, 1481.

5. *The St. Alban's Chronicle*; compiled also at this place, 1483.

Some part of this, viz. what related to English affairs, had been printed by Caxton in the year 1480, and called the *Chronicle of England*. But now much foreign history and scripture was interwoven, collected from the *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed 1481, and named *Fructus Temporum*. This chronicle was printed again, in 1497, by Wynken de Worde at Westmestre, and he says in the title, 'It was compiled in a booke, and also empynted by one sometyme scole mayster of St. Albons.' In the Register of Wallingford's Acts and Deeds no notice is taken of this new and curious art; nor of the renowned author that appeared a few years after, 1486, within their own walls; and this was the Lady Juliana Barnes, or Berners (a), the prioress of Sopwell; who had composed a book containing three treatises, one on hawking, another on hunting and fishing, and the third on Coots Armuris. Her name is affixed only to the end of the second; but the whole was printed by Herford, in the year 1486. This art seems then to have been dropt by Herford: for, the monks gave no encouragement to printing; and it is recorded that Woolsey afterwards discountenanced it very much, having said, at a convocation of

(a) This Juliana Berners was the daughter of Sir James Berners, of Berners Reding, in Essex, knt. and sister to Richard Lord Berners. Was living in 1460, according to John Bale, cent. 8, fol. 611; and became lady prioress of Sopwell. This is said by Mr. Barton, in a letter to Thomas Hearne, dated December 16, 1733; and is written in a blank leaf in a copy once belonging to bishop More, and now in the university library of Cambridge.

the clergy at St. Paul's, in his early days, 'that if they did not forbid printing it would prove the ruin of the church.' After this time, there was here, as also at Oxford and at Cambridge, a long intermission of Printing. Herford went to London, settled in Aldergate-street, and printed again in 1536, and some years after. And in 1534, at the request of abbot Cotton, he printed *The Lyfe and Passion of Seint Alban*, as it was then translated, out of French and Latin, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury.

Will. IV. the
36th abbot.

In 1480, the general chapter of Benedictines at Northampton, having appointed our abbot to visit all the monasteries in the diocese of Lincoln, he deputed two of the brethren to go in his stead: and the command to this purpose is directed to William Hardwyk, B. D. and John Maynard; and the progress of their visitation was thus, and is marked with these distances,

	miles.
From St. Alban's to Stevenage,	14
From Stevenage to Bykleswade,	14
From Bykleswade to Seyneodes, St. Neots,	8
From Seyneodes to Huntynston,	5
From Huntynston to Ramesey,	7
From Ramesey to Steleton,	10
From Steleton to Petyrbourith,	4
From Petyrbourith to Croyland, by land,	4
and by water,	4
From Croyland to Spalding,	8
From Spalding to Boston,	7
From Boston to Tatyrsale,	9
From Tatyrsale to Berdeney,	9

This was the extent of their journey, and then they turned homeward.

	miles.
From Berdeney to Lincoln,	7
From Lincoln to Nawnby,	7
From Nawnby to Grantham,	12
From Grantham to Melton Mowbray,	10
From Melton Mowbray to Leiceſter,	10
From Leiceſter to Lytſtyrworſh,	10
From Lytſtyrworſh to Daventre,	10
From Daventre to Brakele,	14
From Brakele to Myddelton,	7
From Myddylton to Enſam,	10
From Enſam to Oxon,	7

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From

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	miles.
From Oxon to Tame, - - -	10
From Tame to Aylesbury, - - -	6
From Aylesbury to Berkampstead, - - -	8
From Berkampstead to St. Alban's - - -	8

From this journal it appears that their computed miles were at least double the present, now measured.

The churches in South Wales, at this time in the patronage of the abbey, were these; the rectories of Tenby, Angulo, Porterawhan, and Cranwer; the vicarages of Moniton, Castro Martini, and St. Michael, Pembroke: all given, together with lands and estates, by duke Humphry.

The abbot dispensed with banns of marriage in such churches as were in his jurisdiction: as in St. Peter's, in 1482, he dispensed with banns after one proclamation, and ordered the vicar to proceed to the solemnization.

John Hylle, (Hill), the rector of Bushey, becoming very old and infirm, he resigned the said church, and one John Cortelle was presented to the same; and it was agreed, probably before Hill resigned, that Cortelle should make him some compensation: accordingly the abbot decreed, in a solemn and set form, under seal, that Cortelle should allow Hill 6l. 13s. 4d. annually, during his life. It is said, that Edward, the young son of the late George duke of Clarence, was lawful patron of the said church; but, by reason of his minority, the presentation belonged to the abbot: and Cortelle resigned Abbots Langley for Bushey. William Durwell, who had great contests with Boston at Tyumouth, was now confirmed in the perpetual possession of that priory. In 1482, and on the 3d of March, the next turn to the church of Tenby was granted to Roger Harley, at the instance of Richard, duke of Glocester; and Barnet was now granted to the same duke, when it should become vacant.

A convocation of the clergy was appointed to be holden at St. Paul's on the 21st of March, 1481; but the abbot sent a letter to the abbot of Westminster to appear on his behalf, and beg an excuse for him, being unable to attend. And this convocation being adjourned to the 5th of June, he sent master John Cooke, LL. D. and John Rothebury, his archdeacon, as procurators to appear for and in his stead. This same Dr Cooke was then rector of the church in Hogen-lane,

lane, and in November he resigned it; on which the abbot, &c. presented Robert Knight, who was rector of Leechworth; and the abbot presented to Leechworth William Whiteways, M. A. In December, 1481, the vicarage of Tyrfelde, or Turville, was given to John Botelley after John Willson, chaplain, at the instance of the lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain; on the condition that the said John should resign whensoever he should be required by the said chamberlain. This vicarage had been given, in November last year, to Willson, on the resignation of Thomas Shaw: and, in 1482, Idelef-tre was given to one John Jubbe, and Caldecot and Brantfield to two other clerks.

The office of seneschal (which was not only that of steward to their manors, but judge also of the civil courts held for this hundred) being vacant by the death of Westby, letters patent under the abbey seal were given, on the 8th of February 1482, to William lord Hastings (a), constituting him to this office, together with one John Forster to act as deputy. King Edward died on the 9th of April following: and then began the machinations of the duke of Gloucester, to gain the crown, in concert with Buckingham and this lord Hastings. Rapiu speaks nothing of this lord's being confined by Gloucester before the very day, viz. the 12th of June 1483, when his head was cut off in the tower, while the council were sitting, and the duke had charged him with a conspiracy not an hour before, and and caused him to be led forth to a speedy execution. Yet the MS. register whence this account is taken, speaks of his confinement, recites a letter, or petition, from the abbot and body to the king, to supplicate for him. But it availed nothing; for, he was put to death without the least form of trial, *absque judicio*. Forster was committed to the tower on the next day, June 13, and confined there

(a) This man was descended from Matthew de Hastings in Suffex, where, in the Norman times, one of them held the manor of Grenocle. Ashby de la Zouch in Leiceſter was given to some descendant of the said Matthew by Henry VI. from whom William Hastings obtained the privilege of some fairs for the town of Ashby. His son engratized himself with the house of York, and, as soon as Edward made himself master of the realm and was crowned king, he constituted this William Hastings lord chamberlain, and gave him the honour of knighthood. He continued in this office during the whole reign of Edward, and until his death under Richard. He had married the heiress of the Hungerfords, in the county of Wilts, and received very large estates with her, all which, at his death, Richard gave to the duke of Norfolk. He dwelt somewhere near to St. Albans; and, I believe, at the Weld, after the death of Humphry duke of Gloucester.

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until the 10th of March following : but he gave up his office of feneschal, the day after he was arrested, to William Catesby, then a great counsellor of the king's, and styled *jurisperitus*; and the abbot confirmed Catesby herein by a patent bearing date August 1, 1483. As Hastings had great estates and concerns in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, so Catesby, being his agent and confident friend herein, this accounts for that great confidence with which Hastings entrusted him in his secret suspicions against the duke of Gloucester. But nothing can excuse the extreme perfidy and treachery of this man towards Hastings; nor has it any parallel, except in his own family, and perhaps descendants, who were concerned in the Powder Plot, 1605. This William Catesby was much caressed, and knighted by king Richard: and, being taken prisoner at Bosworth Field, was beheaded two days after. In this same year, a petition was offered to the abbot, &c. by one Hethner, who kept an inn known by the sign of the George; that he might be allowed to have mass said, and divine service performed, in a chapel just below his house, for the benefit of the nobles, and other guests, who resorted to his house on their journey. And licence was granted for the same; the mass to be said *submissa voce*; and on condition that no loss or prejudice should arise by the same to the offerings and rights of the parish-church of St. Andrew in this town, and near that Inn.

In 1483, on November 19, Boston was replaced in the priory of Tynmouth, at the instance of Richard, our serene king; because (for, a reason must be given) the king had promised to give ten pounds to repair some works there in the water, *ad opus fabricæ aquaticæ*, and belonging to the haven. The vicarage of Norton was now given to one William Preston, a Cistercian, who came from Rome with a bull from the most holy father Pope Sixtus IV. declaring him fit to hold any benefice with cure of souls, even if it should be a vicarage; and the last vicar of Norton having been deprived, Preston came to the abbot and produced his title from Rome.

This abbot had been very prudent in the management of his church's revenue, having made some addition by purchase, and strenuously defended the rights of the abbey against some claims and pretensions of archbishop Bouchier, who, being archbishop and cardinal, oppressed and harrassed this abbot with suits at law. However, the abbot made an appeal to the Romish Court, by two of the brethren sent on purpose, and there obtained satisfaction and repose. He was

also very munificent to the church, and built that stately front to the great altar; a work of very nice and curious device, and intended to strike the beholder with the awe and reverence which a new and splendid object would produce; whereas the sight of the shrine was no longer a novelty, nor causing that awful astonishment which it had done formerly. And beside, the shrine being now enclosed, was visited with greater solemnity, seen but rarely, and, being heard of only, created a new degree of respect and veneration. This front, with the curious images placed thereon, cost 1100 marks (a). He also built a small chapel with a tomb, having his effigies, cut in marble, placed thereon, near the great altar, and on the south side; intending this for his place of burial: and all this cost 100l. sterling. He died in 1484, on the 8th of August. But his tomb, which was placed between Wheathampstead and the duke's, hath perished.

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ob. 1484

(a) This screen is a well-preserved piece of curious work, and displays the ingenuity and labour of some able artist now unknown. It seems as if meant to conceal the shrine, and to serve the same purpose as was intended by the large frontal, or curtain of crimson velvet, or gold tissue, which used to be suspended in this place on great festivals: and in the middle of this front is now seen a large plain flat surface, as if intended to receive a small curtain or picture: all the rest of the surface is occupied by small tabernacles for the reception of images.

It is probable this screen was at first designed by Wheathampstead, as it bears his arms over the doors, was making in the time of Albon, and finally erected by Walingford; though this latter has all the merit. If it be asked why its position is between two arches, and not between two piers, the reason is, that in the latter place it would have been an obstruction to Wheathampstead's monument.

A good engraving of this screen has been made by Carter; and the monuments of Wheathampstead and Ramridge are well drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved, and printed.

The picture of the last supper, suspended against the screen, over the communion table, hath some history belonging to it. It was painted by Thornhill, and ordered by Dr. Welton, rector of White Chapel, for his church; and the doctor, having conceived some pique or enmity against White Kennet, caused the Judas to be painted in exact likeness of him: the picture was hung up in the church of White Chapel, as intended by Welton: but Kennet, hearing of this insult, made complaint to Compton, then bishop of London, who ordered the picture to be taken down. This was done; and it lay aside for some years, until a gentleman of this town purchased it as a present and decoration to this church. His pious generosity was worthy of a better picture.

THOMAS

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37th abbot. He was succeeded by Thomas Ramrugge, or, as he has been since called, Ramridge, from a place so named near to Kimpton; for, so the modern Sandridge was called Sandrugge, and Ridge was Rugge. But the election of Ramridge did not take place till 1492; though for what cause is uncertain; unless from the king's displeasure, and refusal to allow an election, on finding the abbey's great seneschal among the traitors at Bosworth; and who, together with divers others of Richard's friends, was attainted by act of Parliament in the end of 1485. These attainders brought to the king great estates and wealth, as well as security to his seat on the throne. And it is possible that this merited disgrace of Catesby might involve the estates and rights of the abbey in great difficulties; insomuch, that no regular election did take place till 1492: and perhaps the king gratified his revenge on Catesby by keeping in his hands the temporalities of the deceased abbot. At all events this period of eight years is very obscure. But, before I proceed to consider Ramridge's time, I will view the literary state of this abbey.

Learning, before the art of printing, was nowhere a general attainment; and fell to the lot of a few only, who could apply great ingenuity to combat the numberless difficulties that attended the study of the ancient tongues. Yet we may perceive a few men in every age, within the walls of this abbey, who seem as well accomplished in learning as any men of these ancient orders. Formerly, we find Eadmer of great repute for his learning: and then Ralph, the abbot, who is said to have written the life of Alexander the Great; and Leland adds, also, that he wrote of St. Alban in elegant verse. There was next, about 1181, a monk, named William, who was distinguished among the men of science: and Walter, the monk, who was also librarian and historiographer. There was also John Hanwill, in 1200; celebrated by many foreigners for the elegance of his Latinity, and author of a very melancholy poem, called *Archithronium*, said to be now in MS. in Bennet College, Cambridge. Then followed Roger Windsor, monk, who, for his learning, was appointed historiographer, and wrote a chronicle of the English affairs down to 1235. Matthew Paris appears the next man of any note: and, indeed, his large historical works bear ample testimony to his diligence, judgment,

ment, perspicuity, and loyalty to his king ; with just indignation at the vices and depravity of the clergy, and the exactions of the see of Rome. It is probable that the example of Paris inspired others with a love of letters, and Rishanger was appointed historiographer on the decease of Paris, in 1259. He continued the annals of Paris to the death of Henry, in 1272, was continued in the office, under Edward I. and II. and wrote many tracts of the events during those reigns, until his own death, in 1312. The next remarkable scholar was Richard Wallingford, the abbot, whom I have noted before for his singular and profound learning, and who flourished in 1326. John of Tinmouth appeared next, and wrote, with great diligence, a life of Alban, the founder ; but I believe it hath perished : he also compiled the lives of all the saints of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and called it *Sanctilogium Servorum Dei* : he flourished in 1336. The novelty of Wycliff's doctrines stirred up some strong opponents at this church : in 1381, we find Simon Southray writing against him : and, in 1390, Richard Radcliffe, monk and archdeacon (whose tomb we noted in the time of Wheathampstead), signalized himself in defence of the old opinions. Then appeared, in 1400, Hugh Legat, a deep scholar, but a lover of mortification ; for, rejecting all other books, he devoted himself to the reading *Hanwell's Archibronium*, and wrote comments on this pious and mournful subject. Soon after, Thomas Walsingham and John of Wheathampstead distinguished themselves ; as John Lydgate did, at the same time, at Bury. Wynteshall and Ware continued Rishanger's Chronicle from 1273 to 1423 ; Walsingham wrote also the actions of Henry IV. though we know not how far (a) : but he wrote with such veracity, that none doubt his truth ; and with such precision, that he has supplied the defects of many other historians. The eminence of Wheathampstead's learning may be justly allowed from this circumstance only, that he was sent by the king to the council of Sienna, and that of Pavia, and made there very notable speeches : he also collected many books ; and had become the admired favourite of Humphry, duke of Glocester, who was the patron of all learned men : he wrote a great number of tracts ; but I believe all are perished, or sunk into oblivion, except his epistles in Amer sham's life of him. About the same time lived John of Amer sham, a faithful friend to

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(a) He died before he had fully digested his historic notes, which he had been long and carefully collecting ; and it is likely Ware availed himself of them.

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John Wheathampstead, and firmly united in the love of letters and virtue. Amerſham wrote the life of Wheathampstead about 1440, on the resignation of the abbot, to rescue his character from the tongue of calumny. In the time of Ramridge lived Robert Blakeney, who compiled the last ten years of Wheathampstead's Life, in good classical Latin (a). But when they began to sink in the prince's favour and to lose the public esteem, they appear to have fallen in their own estimation, discipline became relaxed, piety decayed, and all love of learning and good letters seems to have forsaken the place.

The last royal favours shewn to this abbey were in the reign of Edward IV. and of Richard, at the end of whose reign they ceased for ever: and neither its ancient splendor or its literary fame could any longer secure to it the grace and favour of the sovereign. The circumstances which had made Edward and his brothers so friendly to this abbey were these: Edward gained an early acquaintance with the house and its rulers, by having often travelled this road when a young man, and accompanied his armed troops with his father. Then, after he became king, he followed the pleasures of the chace in the forest of Whittelbury; and his connection with the country about the forest became more close and frequent when he married the lady Grey from Grafton. This prince lived much at Windsor, but he frequented this part of his kingdom by repeated visits to his relations and friends; for, at this time, his mother, Cicely, the old duchess of York, had her residence at Berkampstead, and lived there till the middle of Henry the VIIth's reign. The dukes of Glocester and Clarence abode often at the royal palace of king's Langley. George Nevil, the splendid archbishop of York, resided at More Park, and here the king frequently honoured this place with his presence. The lord Hastings, chamberlain to the court under Edward, dwelt near this abbey, as appears by his transaction with Wheathampstead. Richard, both before and after his accession, shewed great favour to this abbey, and greatly encouraged the compiling and publishing the Chronicle. But a fatal reverse was experienced when Henry became king.

The disgrace and loss, which the abbey suffered by the attainder of their seneschal Catesby, was a most unfortunate circumstance; for, by giving that avaricious Monarch, Henry VII. a taste of abbatic wealth, he failed not to indulge his thirst both here and elsewhere;

(a) The book is in the library at the Heralds Office, and finely written.

and it is probable that at the death of Wallingford, though the monks might elect the prior, or any other, yet the temporalities fell into the king's hands, and the new abbot had nothing but title. As the king found two lawyers, Empson and Dudley, to justify all his exactions on the laity; and who invented crimes and charges against them, from which they must redeem themselves with money; so did he find two prelates who were equally willing to manage the clergy, Morton and Fox. They had been faithful servants to the king, and he had rewarded them. But they continued to execute his plan, and coincide with his views, in a manner that could be justified in no men, even the lowest and most indigent. It is on record, that 'Morton, when advanced to Canterbury, in 1486, though he was then chancellor, did lay a great imposition on the clergy of his province; forcing them, by the pope's authority, to contribute so largely toward the charges of his translation, as of his own diocese only (which is one of the least in England) he received 354l.' And when Fox was consulting with Hugh Oldham, his particular friend, bishop of Exeter, and confessor to the countess of Richmond, what he should do with his money at his death; and that he had a mind to build and endow a monastery. 'No,' saith Oldham, the monks have more already than they are 'like long to keep;' to which Fox assented, and determined to build and endow a college. Corpus Christi in Oxford arose from that resolution; and Oldham added his money as the greatest benefactor to such a work. Now from these practices, and these declared sentiments, of the two greatest churchmen at that time in England, I think it is no breach of historic truth to say, that Morton and Fox were as ready and as useful, in fleecing the clergy, as Empson and Dudley were in stripping and extorting from the unhappy laity. And something of such inclination, and such practice, appears from this circumstance; that, with regard to bishopricks, the king would keep them vacant two or three years; or else appoint a bishop, and then remove him: and, by these frequent changes, he seemed to be advancing his friends; but he never restored the temporalities till he could move the bishop no farther. And thus, he could make three or four vacancies follow after the first. We have no doubt but this artifice was practised with abbeys as with episcopal sees; but the records and registers of abbeys are so generally destroyed, that we cannot so easily make out the proof.

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Yet this king affected to manifest great respect and devotion to this abbey ; for, in the 20th year of his reign, he caused the abbot and convent of Westminster to pay yearly to the abbey of St. Alban one hundred shillings, in order to keep and observe a most solemn anniversary on the 7th day of February, and therein to pray for the king and his father ; and, when his mother should be dead (this was the old countess of Richmond), for her also.

This injunction, or rather agreement and covenant, is drawn up in good English and correct grammar, and with great legal precision, and forms an indenture quadripartite ; for, the king is the one party, the abbot and convent of Westminster another, the abbot and convent of St. Alban the third part, and the mayor and commonalty of the city of London the fourth. The payment to be paid on Michaelmas-day, every year, *for ever, and while the world shall endure* ; and, on failure of payment for twenty-one days, the forfeiture to be 10l. to be paid to St. Alban. After the king's death, to observe this anniversary on the day of the king's sepulture, for ever, and as long as *the world shall endure*. The king directs also certain collects to be sung for the prosperity of his realms ; and likewise ordains that, at every celebration, the abbot shall yearly, and *for ever while the world shall endure*, provide and have an hearse to be set in the midst of the high chancel, before the high altar, covered and appareled with the best and most honorable stuff in the monastery ; and also four tapers of wax, weighing each of them eight pounds, to be set about the same hearse ; to be-lighted and to burn continually. And after the end of the same high mass, the abbot and monks shall go together in order to the said hearse, and there devoutly sing this Responde, Libera me Domine de Morte. And, whenever the abbot should fail to solemnize this obit, the body should forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds ; and for omission of any one particular before directed, forty shillings to the Mayor and Commons of London (a).

These exactions and extortions, as formerly and frequently put in practice, were the consequence of the clergy being under a double head. Being distinct from the civil subjects, and taxed apart from them, by the high authority of the pope, and the bishops under him, the clergy were forced to submit to all oppressions ; and had no redress from the Crown, or appeal to any power, but that which caused the grievance and inflicted the distress. So that the clergy,

had they seen the benefit of having one head both of church as well as of state, would have rejoiced at the exclusion and downfall of that head, which cherished them, with no other view but to make them contribute to the grandeur and power of it and its instruments. Since, by being reduced in number, and melted down as it were into the mass of the people, they are made to partake of all the privileges and rights enjoyed by the laity, beside some few peculiar to their own order. And to be an individual under the mild and equitable laws of the state is far preferable to the most elevated rank under the laws and arbitrary edicts of the Roman pontiff: since the first confers a freedom, which the greatest man would covet and desire; and the latter holds out a splendid servitude, that the meanest man ought to reject and condemn.

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These monastic institutions had seen their best days. Their meridian glory was in the time of Henry III. when they, or most of them, had brought the rule of their order and the government of their temporalities to a great perfection; when we may perceive them keeping up a strict rule of religion, in fasting, praying, and a splendid devotion in the choir, with great sobriety and chastity in all the members of the body; when they relieved more people at their gate every day than were fed in their refectory; when these places received all younger children, and provided for many who seemed destitute of any means of living; when they were useful also in draining great tracts of land, and clearing and reclaiming heaths and commons, and undertaking works of this kind which seemed above the ability of the lord or owner; and which unprofitable lands the lords of manors were accustomed to give (as long as they were allowed), as a consideration for taking into the order younger sons or poor relations.

These houses also were extremely useful in receiving trusts, and being security for future payments; such was the character of abbots for probity, and for perpetuity: and thus were they enabled to serve many lay families, who could not trust to the bond or other security of lay lords and gentry. They likewise afforded great helps of religion and devotion to the aged and infirm; who, coming to the decline of life, sought the comforts of religion, and were anxiously contemplating their latter end: hence their choir was always filled with many persons out of the town, and of the meaner sort, who resorted thither to pray and worship God. In short, these houses

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. served all those purposes, which have since been performed by the separate and distinct offices of poor laws, parish-churches, hospitals, schools, inns, and almshouses.

But they began to decline in the time of Edward I. and were now approaching toward their dissolution; not so much through the ill-government and change of morals which prevailed within as from the change of times that prevailed without. The world was not such as it had been; and many causes conspired to the downfall of these institutions. The poor and lower ranks of men found more employment by the great increase of the woollen manufacture; which, together with other improvements in trade, had begun in the time of Henry VII. The rich began to travel abroad, especially into Italy, where they imbibed a new taste for polite literature, and the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. The learned and studious men had conceived new opinions of the doctrines and worship of the Established Romish Church, from the books of Wycliff, and from being able to read the Holy Bible: a consequence of which was, their veneration for the sovereign pontiff abated much; and they thought the worship of God, then in common use, was not the sort of worship which the Saviour of the World proclaimed must be in spirit and in truth. But what operated most strongly against these houses was, that the court, and necessitous courtiers, had begun to taste the sweets of their temporalities.

The time of Thomas Ramridge's death is no where recorded, and not the least history left of his rule and transactions (a); indeed, no memorial of him, beside a sumptuous and elaborate monument in stone work, and a flat grave-stone, inlaid with brass, representing his image or portrait. But it is very probable that he lived until the year 1523, when Wolsey, then bishop of Winchester, archbishop of York, chancellor of England, the pope's legate, and a cardinal, thought proper to resign the bishoprick of Lincoln, and take this abbey in commendam. The utter silence, and want of information, relative to abbot Ramridge and his times, can be accounted for on no other supposition than that the first plunderers, after the surrender of the seals at the dissolution in 1539, seized all the writings, registers, deeds, and documents, not merely as waste and useless paper, but as proofs and evidences of the estates and properties belonging to the house. And, if the king's commissioners made booty of these, first of all, it argues that the temporalities had been in a very

(a) See Appendix, N° X.

doubtful and concealed state before, and perhaps embezzled and withheld; and they judged this the only prudent way to save the remainder. By an instant seizure of the evidences, the commissioners could not only discover what belonged to the house, but they could also make terms with those persons who were found to have clandestinely or fraudulently possessed any of the rents or property.

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It is impossible to ascertain, and to make out, a fair rent-roll of the abbey's possessions, at this period, or at the fatal surrender, or at any one period from the foundation, because the abbots often made long leases; and the heirs of the lessee, by long usage after, claimed the estate, kept possession, and so harassed the ancient owners and their successors, that they often yielded to the usurpation as unable to contest the point. They received also many estates, or parts of estates, together with the admission of a young monk of family; and this they did, in despite of the restraints put on them by Edward I. But they evaded those acts also by taking the gifts in trust. And thus they more readily consented to lose on one side, when they found themselves gaining on the other. Another cause of their losses, and fluctuation of property, was, the great difficulty of obtaining justice in any of the law-courts; and the very bad or weak titles, under which they held their lands: for, in the first instance, even the mitred lord abbot of St. Albans could never obtain redress, unless he could previously make a friend at court, and interest even the king, or some great noble, on his behalf: and, in the latter case, no title *in capite* was good and irreversible unless confirmed by an act of Parliament. No man, before the time of Henry VIII. could devise his lands by will; of course such gifts, though among the laity, were easily made void, and the heir recovered; and gifts in frankalmoigne, made to the clergy in free donation, were much easier torn from them. And, from these causes, which were internal defects of the law of the land, arose that frequent change, fluctuation, and losses, in monastic property.

But here, before I proceed to describe the downfall and dissolution of this ancient foundation, I will exhibit an extract from a curious old work, which was written expressly to shew the names of the principal benefactors, both of estates and movables; as the same is exemplified in the MS. composed by Ware; and now in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, written about the time of king Richard II. and near the end of abbot de la Mare's time.

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BENEFACTORS.

Offa gave to this abbey, at the first endowing thereof, the following places or manors; viz. Edelmetan, or Edmonton; Wittleseia, or Wittlesey; Caygesho, or Cassio; Berethund; Rykemeresworth; Bacheworth; Crokesleye, or Crosley; Michelfeld; Britewell; Watford; Bisseye, or Bushey; Merdele, or Murdel; Haldenham; Saret; Enefelde; Stanmere; Henamstede, or Hempstead; Wyneslawe, or Wynflow; Bischopscote, a manor in Surrey; Eedendone; Mildenton, or Milton; and two villis or farms called Birstone, or Burston; and Wyncelfeld, or Windridge.

These were all confirmed by the charter of king Ethelred in 870.

Egfrid, the son of Offa, gave, after his father's example, five manors, in a place called Pynesfeld, a part of the parish of Rickmeresworth; and the manor of Sandrugge, or Sandridge; and Tyrfield, or Turvill, in Bucks; and confirmed all his fathers grants.

Many of their successors contributed, though we know not the particulars of their liberality: these were Ceolwulphus, Bernulphus, Ethelred, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwin, Edgar, and Edward the Confessor. Ethelred, as mentioned above, confirmed all the grants of his predecessors, and, in honour of the martyr, conferred also a precious stone, called an onyx.

Hardyknote and Harold were benefactors; and then the Conqueror and his son Rufus.

The brother of Rufus, Henry I. bore an especial grace and favour to this abbey; was present, together with his queen and court, at the dedication, in 1115; and, at this period, is thought to have given Bishopscote: but most certainly he conferred on the abbot the civil privileges of the hundred of Caisho, by terming it the liberty of St. Alban, and giving him all the power and authority therein that usually belonged to the king, or was by him granted to any great lord or military chief. And it is probable, that, as the Saxon kings had dwelt near this place at times, and possessed a house or palace here, they had kept this royalty in their hands, and had never bestowed it before.

King Stephen also, at the request of abbot Robert, gave him the castle of Kingsburie, and permitted him to demolish the same. This royal

royal mansion was situate on the high grounds to the west of the town, and comprehended a large space farrounding it as a park ; with an entrance from the town, near the old clock-house, which probably was part of the grand portal. The royal servants were accused of being disorderly : and, in favour to the abbot and honour to the saint, they were removed, all vestiges of royalty were demolished, and the land was given to the church. Tho. II. the
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Henry II. was reckoned a meritorious benefactor, in having composed and laid to rest the controversy with the bishop of Lincoln, and for bestowing on this church, at the same time, a very noble cup, for receiving the holy wafer or bread (a). The kings Richard and John were well affected to the abbey ; but nothing is recorded of their gift. Henry III. presented the church with many vestments (Pallas) of the stuff called Baldokyn, (not of silk merely, but a sort of tislue,) one of which was called *Vinea*, from the figure of a vine, and the other *Paradise*, from a figure of Adam driven out. These were very rich, and the ground was embroidered (b) with these figures. Richard also, the brother of Henry, gave two baldokyns.

Edward I. gave a large cloth of silk to the great altar, and another to the altar of Amphibal ; and to the shrine he presented a large image, or figure, of silver gilt.

Edward II. gave to the church a golden cross ; and towards the repairs 100l. He gave also to the refectory one large cup of silver gilt.

Edward III. was a strenuous defender of the abbey's rights, and ever gave it his protection and patronage. His son likewise bestowed many rich trinkets and relics to the church and to the shrine ; but nothing of better value.

Richard II. gave to the shrine a necklace of gold, for the image of the Virgin ; and to the church two patins, or plates, of gold, having a vine represented thereon, spreading its branches and its bunches of fruit in a very comely manner. In money he gave 100 shillings to the convent, and to the repair of the haven (a) at Tynmouth 500l.

John, duke of Lancaster, gave two cloths of gold, in gratitude for the favor done by the abbot, in giving permission to have the body

(a) Corpus Christi.

(b) Opere plumario

(c) *Portui* rather than *Portæ*.

Tho. II. the
37th abbot.

of his deceased wife, Blanch, rest here one night in its way to Westminster. He gave 10l. to the repair of Tynmouth, and many times sent presents of wine to this monastery. The lord Thomas of Woodstock, brother to Lancaster, was received into the fraternity, and gave to the shrine a necklace of gold, adorned with sapphire stones, and with a white swan, expanding its wings. He gave two cloths of gold (tissue) for a covering of the shrine; twelve other cloths of gold, with a crimson ground (a) and various work embroidered; and three other cloths of gold with a green ground, and twenty choral copes with very costly gold fringe (b) to be applied by the sacrist.

The lady Joan, the princess and daughter of Edward III. made many offerings; among which was a noble necklace of gold, and to the convent 100 shillings. To the abbot she gave one cup of silver gilt, with a cover; and an image of the Virgin holding the child in her arms, made of very deep and yellow amber, having the arms made of a white amber. She gave also, for many years, to the abbot a cask of wine, in recompence for his adorning the shrine of Oswyn.

The lady Constance, wife of John, duke of Lancaster, gave 10l. for the repair of the kitchen; and to the same abbot a noble cloth of gold, of a sky blue colour.

Queen Matilda had given Pewyk and Lylleburne, in the time of Edward III.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, gave to the cell at Tynmouth 100 marcs; and above 1000 trees for the repair of the damage done by the Scots.

The lord Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and his countess Margaret, bore great affection to this church; and gave some timber (c) for the repair of the refectory.

The lady Margaret, countess of Norfolk, gave to the repair of the kitchen 20 marcs, praying the convent to remember, in their supplications to Heaven, the lord John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, her first husband. She was admitted into the fraternity, and gave 30 marcs; and 20 more, to repair the damage the cell of Beaulieu had suffered by fire.

(a) Campi rubri.

(b) Aurifrigiis pretiis.

(c) Duas grossas trabes.

The countess of Pembroke, named Mary de St. Paul, in the time of Henry III. left, as a legacy, an image of St. Vicentia, of silver gilt; holding in its hands a box, or shrine, which contained the face of the Martyr. Tho. II. the
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The lady Blanch Wake, a sister of the chapter, honoured the church with many oblations; and, dying, bequeathed 50 shillings to it, as a legacy. The lady Elizabeth de la Zouch gave many rich vestments. The lady Mary Percy, wife of the above Henry, and sister of the duke of Lancaster, did the same; together with a silver cup, gilt, which exhibited shields of arms belonging to her family.

Many privileges and immunities had been granted to this church by popes, at divers times; but, as they relate not to gifts or grants of land, I omit them, except these; viz. that pope Gregory IX. confirmed to this monastery the church of Eglingham; and that Anastasius, the pope, confirmed the church of Luton.

Athelric, bishop of Worcester, gave to God and his saint the vill called Syftiwa, Syncumb, and Tiwa (Tewin).

Llanfranc gave to this church 1000 mares to the building of the church; and bequeathed 100l. at his death, but no more than 50 was ever paid. He recovered also the land or manor of Redburn, which had been unjustly taken from the church, perhaps by the Conqueror. He gave the manor of Northaugh, together with many rich vestments, and all the vessels and utensils proper for the choir, with candlesticks, &c.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and uterine brother to the Conqueror, gave three hides of land at Apfa (Napsbury), together with the wood, called Eyewode, for which the abbot Paul promised him 20l. but Odo forgave the debt. He restored also the vill of Tewin, which had been unjustly granted to him; and Paul ordained that the rents should be applied for the monks food.

Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, gave the church of Eglingham; for the sole purpose of improving the malt liquor given to the monks: and this, as above related, was confirmed by the pope. Walter, bishop of Durham, in Henry the III'd's time, conferred on them the church of Hertburn, for the uses of hospitality. Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham(a), gave many and various books, of

(a) A learned prelate in Edward the III'd's time.

Tho. II the great value. The cell of Tynmouth, being well known to the
 37th abbot. bishops of Durham, this circumstance created an intercourse and a
 good understanding between these great personages.

The bishop of Ardfer, in Ireland, gave to this church many books; and also a stone, of a light airy colour, marked with white spots, called the serpent stone, thought to be very efficacious against lunacy; it was square in form, and encompassed in a margin of silver. He gave also three noble rings, one set with an oriental sapphire; the second with a sapphire that possessed some medicinal quality, and formed like a shield; and the other with a sapphire, of less size.

Henry de Blois, bishop of Winton, gave to this church one large ring, set with jewels: in the middle was a sapphire, of a faint colour; and in the circuit four pearls, and four garnets.

Hotham, bishop of Ely, gave to this church 100 marcs in the time of Edward II.

Thomas de Hatfield, bishop of Durham, in Edward the III^d's time, after many tokens of good affection to this church, gave to the convent one myrrhine cup, called by my author *Wofhey!*, in these times; and, at his death, he left to it 100 marcs.

John Barnet, bishop of Ely (a), gave to the repairs of the abbey a quantity of timber; as did also Thomas Arundel, the archbishop.

The donors and founders of the Cells were these: Robert de Mombray, earl of Northumberland, gave the church of St. Mary, at Tynmouth, in which had been buried the body of Oswyn, king and martyr; and the said earl, in regard to Oswyn, procured an endowment, and put it under the patronage of this abbey: coming hither afterward, he assumed the monastic life; and, at his death, was buried in the chapel of Symeon. William de Albancio, or D'Aubigny, cup-bearer to Henry I. of Norman extraction, and probably fixed at this place by a grant from the Conqueror, gave the cell of Wymondham; and the manor of Tyngheherste, now called Fingest, in Berkshire: and his son confirmed these grants. Robert de Valoignes, seated at Hertingsfordbury, gave the cell at Bynham. Robert de Toteney, or Todenei, gave the cell of Beauvoir, or Belvoir. Geoffry the chamberlain gave the cell of Wallingford. Ralph de Lymesi, a baron of high rank, gave the cell of Hertford. William de Pyperell,

(a) In the time of Edward III. He lived and died at Hatfield.

or Peverell, conferred the cell of Hatfield, in Essex. Robert de Albigny gave the cell of Beaulieu, and the chapel of St. Machatus (a). Tho. II. the
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These donors were all Normans, and had grants from the Conqueror; and always thought, like prudent men, that a body of clergy was a necessary institution to accompany a grant, they being capable of many services both to the lord and to his tenants, beside their religious duties: and, as the abbots from the time of the Conquest were Normans, they formed by these institutions a firm and indissoluble connection of Church and State, to the mutual aid, support, and strength, of each other.

The manor of Codicote was given to this church by Etheline, the faithful minister of King Ethelred. Stodham, or Studham, was given by Oswulph and his wife Ayeliza before the Conquest; the wife joining in the donation, that the convent might pray for the soul of her first husband, Ulphus.

Wult, a Dane, (a great man under St. Edward the King, son of Ethelred), gave the land, called Easton, (or Eastwic, to distinguish it from Westwicke), with all its appurtenances. He gave also the manor of Oxwic, or Oxeyes; at the same time a cup, a missale, and a dorsale. Edwyn of Cadington gave the land, called Waterford and Beoronley; and, at his death, bequeathed 20 oxen and 30 cows.

Egelwine, the Swarte, (or Black,) and his wife Wynflod, in the time of Edward, next before the Conquest, gave Redburn, Greneburwe, Llangeley, and Thwangton; and the wife gave also a great bell. Æthelgive, a lady of high rank (b), gave the land called Gatefden, or Gaddesden; and a vill called Standen; and another by name Offeley. She bestowed also on this monastery 30 mancuses of gold, 30 oxen, 20 cows, 250 sheep; with a herd of hogs, together with the herdsman; at the same time she gave two silver cups; and two others, called *horns*, one book, one large curtain, and one great bench, called *Bancale*.

Sexi, a Dane, well affected to the Saint, gave Hekstunton, or Hexton. One Hadda, a man of high rank, and Christina, his wife, gave, *pro salute animarum*, Newenham and Beandish. A religious matron, named Tharefled, gave Shenlea, or Shenley, and Bridley,

(a) I shall have occasion to be more full in the History of the Cells when I come to take a view of them at the dissolution.

(a) Nobilis matrona.

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in perpetuity. Ethelbert, a great and powerful man in his times, gave Cramford. Walsine, another rich and great man, gave Esenden. Another Walsine, a man of honorable rank, gave Ealdenham. Æelfstan, a man well affected to God and the Church, gave the vill of Ensham. Wulfgar, a servant of king Ethelbert, gave the land, vulgarly called Walden. Matildis, of Eftan, gave her land called Owynge. Godefrid of Rokamstade, now called Rethamsted, gave 25 acres of land in that vill. Walter de Valoignes gave the vill of Berney. William de Marlow, and Rohays his wife, gave the vill of Walsington. Nigel de Merston gave as much land as was worth ten shillings a year in London. Richard de Crokefly gave 84 acres of land in Wrokushulle.

Roger de Valoignes gave land in Gunsthorp, and in Walsingham, and in Wells (in Norfolk), and half of Berney. Berenger of Totaney, and his wife Albreda, gave Thorp, and the tithes of Pederynkton. Nigel of Albigny, and his wife Amicia, gave the vill or town of Hendred (in Berks), and the town of St. Christopher, in Wallingford; and half another church there, consecrated in honour of St. Mary: this Nigel gave also Eastwell, in Kent. Hardewin de Scaliers gave the vill of Brantfield, with the church thereof. This was said early in the history to have been bought with gold melted out of the vestments. William de Bosrohard, and Adeliza his wife, gave Talington, in Lincolnshire, for the support of the monks. Hugo de Biburfwurthe gave half an hyde of land in the vill of Biburfwurthe. Adelize, the wife of Theodoni de Forrho, gave one hyde of land in Grenestead. Roger de Burun gave a mansion in the parish of Thole, and one acre of meadow; and at his death bequeathed to the brethren fifty shillings. Ingod de Lyndesey gave one carucate of land in Herdreshille. Roger de Hertford gave one house in that town, and his tithes in Boxa. Afric de Hiege gave one house in London of the yearly rent of six shillings. Godolena, a lady dwelling in London, gave a house there of 5 shillings yearly rent. William, a clerk in London, gave half the church of St. Alban, and half that of St. Michael; and houses in that city of 14 shillings yearly rent. A man named Roger, whose surname is not known, gave a portion of land in Wellgan (or Wellwyn) worth 8 shillings a year. Rodbert, earl of Morton, and Almodis his wife, gave a virgate of land in Codicote, and half an hide in Redburn. Intheta, a countess, and widow of earl Walthin, gave three virgates of land in Pottune (Potton). Gof-
fricus,

fricus, a deacon, gave an house situate in Cambridge, together with some land. Humfrey de Everfdon gave two acres of land in that village. Manaffes de Arfi gave lands in Oxfordshire worth a yearly rent of forty shillings. Henry de Albigny gave a village called Wybaldington (in Norfolk). Emma de Bradway, and her son Hugo, gave the manor of Bradway. Ernulp of Hefdun gave one carucate in the county of Warwick, and the church of Erpeltone, and ten pounds. Alnered, the cup-bearer of earl Morton, gave a manor of seven carucates, in Norton in Warwickshire. Nigel de Wast gave one carucate of land, called Seccyng, and the tithe of Rington, and 100 shillings; and afterwards he gave the church of Mylbrook and one carucate, with all things belonging to the church; and the church of Hamptehull, or Ampthill; all in Bedfordshire. Nigel de Stafford gave the church of Norton, and one carucate, and the tithes of his demesne in Norton. Wydo de Bailul gave one virgate of land in Hexton. William, earl of Morton (who lived in 1100) gave to St. Alban, and the sole use of food for the monks, the manor of Stanmere; which had been unjustly taken away, perhaps at the Conquest. Matildis, a certain widow, and the daughter of Ernald de Hysdyng, gave half an hyde in the village called Hare; (perhaps Harestreet near Puckridge). Hugo, son of Osbern, gave a saltpit at the Wych (a). (but it is not said where situate), and the salinator, or workman, therewith. Humphrey de Kymbell gave the church of Kymbell, situate in the county of Bucks. Nigel de Merston gave, *pro salute animæ*, the church of Tyrefeld, or Turvill, in Bucks *perpetuo jure possidendam*. William de Weedon, in honour of the glorious protomartyr, gave the church of Wyngrave.

William de Albigny gave the churches of Wulfthrop and of Redynild, situated in Norfolk. Walter Blancfront gave the church of Porfgrave. William de la Val gave the village called Ducentun, in the country of the Northumbrians. William ——— gave the church of Walynton, in Herts. Nigel de Berwyll gave one hyde of land in Middleton, and the tithes of that church.

Richard de Clothall, a knight of great fame, as mentioned before, gave to the altar of the Virgin four wax-lights for constant use, and one cup of gold. John, the rector of Hoddesden, gave one great bell and

Tho. II the
37th abbot.

(a) This is the common name of all saltworks.

Thos. II. the the rest. Gerard, a baker in London, gave land of 10 shillings a
 37th abbot. year rent. William, son of Symon, gave some lands in the village
 of Hatfield for the use of the copyists. Alan de Wynton gave half
 of the land that lies in Bishopscote. Geoffry de Childwick gave the
 tithe of Wand. Nigel, a miller, gave, for the use of the monks
 kitchen, a yearly rent of four shillings. William de Albigny, and
 Cecilia his wife, gave the churches of Talyngton and of Burston,
 with two carucates of land; with the mill in the village of Belver.
 Ailward of Leofwyn gave four hides of land in Hexton. Henry de
 Kenelworth gave one virgate in Pottsgrave. Roger de Eywode gave
 to the monks kitchen a yearly rent of one marc. Ægelwine gave one
 house in London, yielding a yearly rent of eight shillings. William
 Limet gave all the tithes of Montune, except that of the mills of
 Montune and of Flitwyk.

Robert the mason, who laboured hard at the building of the church
 in the time of Paul, gave, every year, as long as he lived, ten shil-
 lings. Bermond of St. Owen, and Cana his wife, gave the tithe of
 all things that could be tithed in Bolinton, and in Estawicewyrth,
 and in Eastun.

Thurstan, the brother of William de Mara, gave his tithes in the
 village of Wilia, or Willian; and Robert de Mara likewise gave his
 tithes. This seems to argue that they gave the tithes of their own
 lands, though the parish had a rector or vicar. Humfridus de Knyb-
 worth gave his tithes of Efresdin, or Friethsden. Walter Gifford
 gave one acre of land, and houses in Wallingford worth nine shillings
 a year. Norman de Muntfaltrel gave two parts of his tithe of Hol-
 pole, and of Pyr, and one virgate of land. Walter de Mandaville
 and Gimmilda his wife, gave a third of the tithes of Rotley, Brin-
 field, Cetteham, and Retlege, and laid the grant of this donation on
 the great altar. Serlo de Marcer, and his wife Mabil, granted, *in*
perpetuum, the tithes of Perendon, Tropyngton, and of Fishhide.

Edward, of Cambridge, and his mother, gave the church of St.
 Bennet in Cambridge. Robert Desbans gave his tithes of Mordune.
 Alvered (Alfred) gave his tithe of Cranden. Habenger, and his wife
 Hugolina, and his son Rollond, and his daughter, gave the tithe of
 Conington and of Toftes.

Henry de Albigny, and his two brothers, gave the church of Clop-
 hill, with the lands belonging to it: viz. half an hide; and the
 tithes of that village, and of Cot, and of Kegenho; and the father
 con-

confirmed the gift. Nigel, one of the brothers, gave the church of ^{Tho. II. the} the Holy Trinity in Wallingford, and the other half of the church ^{37th al. b. t.} of St. Mary in that town, and thirty acres of land without the town. He gave also the manor of Henred.

Robert and William, the sons of Turgis de Meduanâ, gave the tithes of Rodinges, Herlagh (Hurley), and of Briztham (Bisham). William, at his death, bequeathed to the church his sword and his arms. In the time of abbot Paul two of the great bells were given by Eipolf, a great man in these parts, and his wife. Robert de Oili (D'Oiley) gave at that time 120 pounds, and one good cup in shape of an horn.

William de Albigny gave all his tythes in Snedeſham, in Fretgignes, in Flitcham, in Bruncham, in Greneſtun, and in Pykenham; and two carucates of land, one in Fretgignes, and the other in Bruncham (a).

Uno de Tigernull, with his wife and son Berenger, gave to this church a church called Gleston (Glaiston in Rutland), and one carucate of land in the same vill. William Mefchines, and his wife Cecilia, gave the tithe of the village of Netneſby (Naſeby) in Northamptonſhire.

Alan, the son of Pirot, gave his chapel of Kenonton, with the tithes of the vill.

William Noreys, a villanus of St. Alban, (that is, a copyhold tenant on some estate of St. Alban,) with his wife Mary, gave so much in one instance and another that they were received into the fraternity; and, after their death, the abbot appointed an anniversary, to celebrate their memory; and forty shillings were ordered to be expended in feasting the convent. Adam de Belver, a man of known fame and great family, forgave a debt to the abbey of 233 marcs; and bestowed on the altar of St. Blaze a golden cup, adorned with precious stones, and of the weight of forty shillings.

Lawrence, a clerk, forgave the church a debt of 100l. and fifteen marcs; and gave a ring, set with a ruby. Robert de Hertford, dean

(a) This manner of giving tithes could take place only before a parish was here set out, and a minister appointed, to whom they might be appropriated; and is a sure proof that manors were prior to parishes; and that the latter were appointed and set out by degrees, and when the lord had built a church, and fixed a clerk to dwell near it; to whom the tithes were then allotted as a maintenance: but, before that, they were paid to whom the lord of the land pleased.

of

Theo. II. the 37th abbot. of the choir, gave 100 marcs, and two silver cups gilt. At this time was killed Walter de Hamundesham (Amertham) a faithful servant of this church (a). The lady Petronilla (or Parnel) of Bansted, gave a large round cover for the altar, adorned with stones of jasper, set in silver; said to be the altar-cloth of Augustine, the apostle of England. She made an offering also of two vials, the bodies of which were chrystal, the orifices and the feet of silver, ornamented with jewels and pearls.

Reginald, who built the chapel of the Virgin, is intitled to a special rank among the benefactors. He is said to be of this town. Mass was celebrated in this chapel every day, and the service performed *per notam* (b).

The Lord William de Clynton, earl of Huntingdon, reported as above to have been interred under the shrine, gave many rich vestments; one, curiously wrought with a field like copper, and in parts shewing all the effulgence of gold. John Aynel (or Aignell) gave a precious stone of admirable beauty, called a sapphire, to be deposited on the shrine of the saint. William Purser, of this town, gave a yearly rent of four marcs; and to the church at Redburn he gave a tapestry, or covering for a table, two table-cloths, and a chest, or coffer.

At the time of building the cloister, the lord Nigel Loring gave to that work ten marcs; and a second time ten marcs. He gave also to the convent a cask of wine, and at his death forgave a debt of 100 marcs. Robert Knollis, knight, a valiant and famous man, contributed to the works of the monastery; and, for the soul of his wife the lady Constancia, he gave ten marcs. He had the fraternity, and by right thereof the money was applied to that use. He gave afterward to the building of the kitchen rool.

The lord Geoffry Lucy, a famous knight, gave five marcs; but the abbot and convent thought him worthy of a place among their benefactors.

Another renowned knight, named John of St. Albans, gave, as a legacy, a number of rings containing many precious stones.

Sir Thomas Fything, knight, gave to the work of the cloister 10l. Sir Richard de la Vache, knight, gave 30l. Sir John Hay, knight, gave 6s. 8d. Sir Richard Havering gave to the work of

(a) See p. 221, part 1, Life of Wallingford.

(b) That is, with more correctness, singing by note.

the refectory some timber (a). Sir William Troyfere, knight, gave the like. Theo. II. the
37th abbot.

Sir Robert de Walsam, precentor of Sarum (to whom we are, faith Ware, for ever obliged for his many kindneffes and gratuitous expences on our account), gave at times, for the work of the cloister, forty marcs. He gave also by legacy 100 marcs; and bequeathed to the high altar a bason and ewer of pure silver (b), for the monks to use in washing their hands on feast-days. He gave also to the saint some trinkets of gold; and, to each monk, forty pence.

Sir Bartholomew de Weedon, rector of the church of Schakreston, in the county of Leicester, gave 240 marcs, to have a corrody among us; but, in reality, to aid the work of the cloister; for, it far exceeded the value of any corrody, even for the life of a young man. He was admitted to the fraternity at his earnest request; and, dying, bequeathed to the abbot 20l. to the prior 20 marcs, to every priest one marc, and to every other monk half a marc.

Master William Burton, well skilled in the law, and a clerk under the archdeacon of this church, had exercised the jurisdiction and authority of that office for thirty years and more, and kept the laws of the church pure and unviolated. At his death he left five marcs to the cloister, and all his books (*utriusque legis*) to the office of the archdeacon.

Sir John Rouland, (Rowland,) rector of the church of Todyngton, had been a strenuous advocate in many causes and suits relating to this abbey, and an indefatigable promoter of its interests; and, being left executor by Richard Eccleshal and John Stoke, he gave 50l. out of the manor of Walhale (or Woral), for building or repairing the great gate of the abbey, viz. the present gate under the gaol; but on condition, that the convent prayed for the souls of the deceased testators. He gave to the cloister 23l. and to the convent 20s. to pray for the souls of John Peacock, and his children, parents, family, friends, and benefactors. At another time he gave 10l. to the use of the bells, and 10l. to the convent. He paid to abbot John 700 marcs, to enable him to recover the land of Gorham; and forgave the abbot a debt of 80 marcs, which the abbot had agreed to pay him as a rent of Gorham for eight years. This manor had been unjustly torn from its first owner the abbey, and had lately been sold

(a) Unam trabem.

(b) Pelvem cum lavatorio.

Tho II. the 37th abbot to the countess of Oxford. The abbot agreed to rent it, rather than lose all benefit whatever from it; and was to pay this Rowland eight marcs a year: he perhaps acted as steward to the purchaser, or otherwise became intitled to 80 marcs. The whole rent appears to have been 40l. yearly; and, the countess agreeing to sell and quit claim, Rowland furnished the money, 700 marcs, for the purchase, and the manor was restored to the abbot. Rowland, at the same time, distributed to the convent 20l. viz. to every brother half a marc, so that the number at this time was no more than sixty: this was in Moot's time.

Sir Richard de Tretoun, rector of Tindell, and executor of Sir Robert de Thorp, chief justice, and then chancellor of the realm, conferred seven score marcs for the soul of the deceased, and to be applied to divers works. This man was master of Bennet College, Cambridge; and Thorpe, had been a benefactor to the university, having built the chapel in which the regents sat in convocation, (before the present senate house was built,) as appeared by the coloured glass in the window; since demolished (a).

Master John Appelby gave a curious dress, or cope, the ground of which was green, worked in gold, with figures of beasts. He gave also the book called the Rosary; and 10l. to purchase the Collectarium; and to the cloister he gave 6l. 8s. 4d.

Master William Burcot, rector of the parish church at Waltham, who, from his earliest days, had served the interests of this church, gave the Catholicon, and the whole body of civil law; and, by the labour of the abbot, was procured the whole body of the canon law. He gave to every member of the convent 40 pence; and paid to the abbot 10l. to obtain a privilege from Rome, that, in future, any abbot chosen by unanimous consent should not need any farther confirmation.

Sir David Wellover, clerk of the rolls of Chancery, conferred on this monastery 20l. Sir John Lowkyn, canon of the church of Ely, and executor of Adam Lowkyn, gave 20 marcs to pray for the soul of the deceased, and to be applied to the cloister. Sir Richard Tole, rector of Barnet, gave to the work of repairing the kitchen forty shillings. Sir William Burges, formerly rector of North Mymms, gave to the building of the kitchen ten marcs, and left a legacy of ten marcs.

(a) See Master J's History of Bennet College.

Master William Tankerville gave to the work of the new gate 100 shillings, and 100 to the cloister. Tho. II. the
37th abbot.

Master John Enderby, clerk to the archdeacon, gave as a legacy to every monk twelve pence. Master John Wyliot gave to the work of the cloister 20 shillings; Master William Rouse gave to the same use twenty shillings.

Sir William (a), vicar of Redburn, gave to the convent twenty shillings. Sir Roger, the chaplain of the countess of Warwick, at Flamsted, gave twice 6s. 8d. to the cloister.

John Whittewell, formerly feneshall of the liberty, gave in Childewyhay, Kyngsbury, and Sandrugge, one messuage, six tofts, three carucates of land, three acres of wood worth three shillings rent. And, in Wattord and in Oxheye, Walrand gave five tofts, two carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow, six acres of pasture, eight acres of wood, the moiety of a certain mill; all of the annual rent of sixty shillings and eight pence farthing.

Master Adam Rous gave a noble cope, and a chafuble of red velvet, both powdered with trees and leopards in gold. He gave also to the great altar a gold cup; and bestowed on the abbey a house in London, situate next to Dowgate, of the yearly value of forty shillings, from which rent the sub-cellarer allows ten shillings to the convent, for a pittance (b) on the anniversary. Stephen de la Mare, nephew to Thomas the abbot, sold his house situate in Dagnal for ten pounds, and gave the money to the monastery.

John Gele (or Gale) bestowed his house at the corner of Church-street on the under cook, whenever one is deputed to that office.

John Gumbard gave a house situate in Dagnal, and twenty-nine acres of land with it; and to the cloister forty shillings. John de Lagleye gave also an house well built, in Dagnal, and of the yearly rent of sixty shillings. William Chewpain and his wife gave many ornamental vestments, and many utensils for the refectory. John Pykebon (Pickborn) gave his noble mansion and two acres of land in French-row, in this town. Robert de la Chambre gave his house in St. Peter's street, situate opposite the church. William Kynshull gave an house with twenty shillings rent. Agnes de Langford gave an house in the street leading to Sopwell (now Sopwell-lane), worth

(a) Mentioned as being buried in the church in the time of Edward III.

(b) *Piotancia*, it is generally written; that is, a gift for God's sake, and in regard to our duty to him.

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one marc, to pray for the soul of Joan Langford. Joan de Ware gave her house in this town, and accepted a corrody for life.

John Cheston gave 20l. and three acres of wood, now rented by Thomas Norton.

Reginald Heynot gave up his house in Romeland, situated next the great gate, and accepted a corrody for life. Richard Eccleshal bequeathed his house in Halywell, called Stonehall, which was afterward sold for 30l. and the money applied to the office of the co-quinar.

John Philpot, a citizen of London, bestowed on the cloister 40l. and gave to the convent two seam, or quarters, of dates and almonds.

Alexander Onger gave, for the safety of his soul, 20l. At this time, and through the whole rule of de la Mare, the gifts were innumerable, and always in money or plate, or trinkets for the image of the Virgin.

Roger gave to the refectory twelve silver spoons. William Fimmer gave to the Virgin's Chapel one marc and a zone of silver.

Theodoric Stannar gave a zone to the shrine of Alban, richly ornamented.

Thomas Tydene, esq. styled *custos nemorum*, or woodward, contributed ornaments of silver and money to the cloisters. More than twenty others contributed money to the same works; and the repair of the cloisters seems to have furnished pretence for a continual call on the beneficence of the pious.

Most of these gifts were made in the time of De la Mare; and two persons gave forty shillings each toward writing this list of benefactors; and painting their heads (a), in proper character, opposite their name.

In the Tower of London are to be found a great number of original grants in confirmation of the donations and privileges conferred on this abbey.

In the 27th of Edward I. (1299) there is an inquisition before the justices of the King's Bench against one A. B. why he had made waste of the woods of Shenlee; which had been granted to him for life, by the prioress of Sopwell (b). And in p. 1176

(a) Vide the MS. mentioned above, in lib. Ben. Coll.

(b) Harl. MSS, 744, p. 1037, referring to the rolls in the Tower.

of the Harl. MS. it is recorded, that the church of Shenley Spend-^{Tho. II. the} hurst was appointed *pro cantaria in eccles. Sancti Lawrentii de Candle-*^{37th abbot,}
wick-strete, London, - anno 19, Edward III. 1346 (a). Hence
 it appears, that the church of Shenley was in the Poultnays
 in 1346, and the lands and the manor probably in the abbey, until
 the dissolution; that the tithes only were settled on the chantry;
 and that, after the Dissolution, the descendents of the Poultnays
 purchased the tithes, manors, and lands, of the Crown; for, this
 family possessed the same, until they sold the above unto the Crews,
 in the last century.

There is a grant also in the 12th of Edward III. to confirm a do-
 nation of lands called Le Traye, in the vill of Sarret (b). Also an
 inquisition taken before John de Ramesden, anno 15 Edward II.
 against the abbot of St. Alban, *de certis plateis et aliis minutis par-*
cellis terræ in eâdem villâ, et de duob. part. unius messag. et centum acris
in Tydenhangre (c).

In the ninth year of Richard II. there is a grant for forty shillings
 and four pence, to be paid annually by the House of Merton Hall, in
 Oxford, from their lands in Watford in Langley (d); and in the
 7th of Henry VI. a grant to confirm an exchange of lands in Child-
 wykshay, Slapewalden, and in Hexton, for tenements belonging to
 the hospital of St. Anthony, in the city of London (e).

(a) Roll. pat. 1. m. 1.

(b) Pat. 2. m. 20.

(c) Pat. 1. m. 26.

(d) Pat. 9. m. 40.

(e) Pat. 1. m. 9.

C H A P T E R IX.

THOMAS WOOLSEY.

Tho. III. the
38th abbot.

WHEN Woolsey took this abbey in commendam, it was such a breach of the canon law, and such an invasion of that rule and government in which abbeys had been holden, that it amazed all soberminded persons who revered the ancient constitution of abbeys; and seemed to portend some fatal blow to that order of the clergy. For, holding in commendam, though it was an ancient usage, yet it was allowed and practised by the head of the church, as giving over some church or secular preferment to be taken care of; the church was not said to be filled, nor any investiture made of the same; but the supreme dispensed with the usual forms of institution, and delivered it over for its protection and safety; and this power of holding was at first revocable at the pleasure and will of the supreme head. But this never had been practised with regard to abbeys and convential institutions; because the care of these required a personal attendance, and the constant presence of the ruler: whereas, in the secular preferments, this was not thought so necessary, nor a constant residence required by the canons.

Wool-

Woolsey, being legate or supreme head in England, had no leave Tho. III. the
38th abbot. to obtain or to ask, in making his own appointment; nor was there any danger of being questioned for being thus appointed. It doth not appear that he ever came down even to take possession; nor, indeed, is there the least tittle of record remaining to shew what was done during his commendamship, which lasted till his downfall; nor who was his prior; or what material events then affected this house. But it is probable, and very fair to conjecture, that he took it in order to be assisted by its revenue in building and founding his new college at Oxford. For, in 1525, he had finished Hampton Court, and made a present of it to the king; and was next meditating to build as splendid a structure for science and learning as he had done for royalty and grandeur: and, for this purpose, he obtained consent from the pope and the king for the suppression of eighteen small monasteries in 1526; and, in 1529, he procured a grant for dissolving the priory of Wallingford, and the hospital of St. Pree, and for applying the revenues to the use of his new college. 18

The abbey continued in the hands of Woolsey at the time of his founding and building his two colleges; of which that at Oxford is said to have its foundations only laid and the hall and kitchen built, at the time when their founder was convicted on the statute of premunire, October 18, 1529: and his goods of every kind, and all his estates, were then forfeited to the king.

This abbey, and all its real and personal property, ought then to have reverted to its true original owners, the prior and monks of the house. But the king, when he granted a pardon to Woolsey in the spring of 1530, permitted him to keep the archbishopric of York, with all its estates and dependencies, except York-place, afterward called Whitehall; and allowed him also the titles of bishop of Winton, and abbot of St. Albans; but reserving to himself all the revenues of these two last preferments. At the death of Wolsey, on November 29, 1530, the abbey ought to have returned to its freedom; but Henry still grasped close and detained the whole, causing one Robert Catton to be elected in the place of abbot; a method of saving appearances; while the king's agents and secret ministers lived as guests in the monastery and ruled all. They were called idle gentlemen; but were in truth spies. This continued until the death of Catton, in 1538; at which time one Richard Boreman, or de Stevenache, (as he affected to be called, after the old manner,) was chosen

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chosen by the royal interest; being put in, to present an appearance of abbatical rule and government, and to execute with a better grace the intentions of the king and Parliament, which had been by this time brought to maturity.

No event prior to this time so strongly demonstrates the great superiority which the civil power had gained, together with the authority of king and Parliament, and how low the power of the church was fallen, as the downfall of Woolsey. Kings had wisely chosen great ecclesiastics for their ministers, because there were always two great ruling interests in the kingdom; and it was easy to the king to govern both, when he placed the head of the church in the direction of his civil affairs. And this elevation of Woolsey had contributed to enable Henry to govern peaceably and successfully through the former part of his reign. But now, the king found himself with a better support from the temporal lords, and from the House of Commons, than he ever had before experienced. He had ventured to tell the pope that he could rule England without him, and that his delay or refusal to dispense with the dispensation of a former pope (which was a thing impossible even for infallibility to effect) would cause the Catholics of England to seek another head. Though Woolsey was skilful at the business of negotiation, he failed here; and was caught in that trap in which he generally had ensnared others. He secretly advised the pope to use delays; and probably urged the king openly to seek other remedies, which he (the adviser) thought would never join in gratifying the wish of the King. But this double conduct became known to Henry, and excited a fatal resolution in his breast to destroy the bane of his peace, and seek new counsel, which he thought would be faithful. He boldly ordered his attorney general to indict his minister in the star-chamber, on the statute of premunire, which had been enacted by Edward I. with a view to separate his clergy and people from Rome, and set them farther off from connection and communication therewith. Woolsey was convicted, and degradation and confiscation followed. Yet, not content with this, Henry directs an impeachment to be opened against him in the House of Lords; which impeachment, consisting of forty-four articles, was allowed and passed without trial;

trial (a); and was sent down to the commons to be completed into an act; when Thomas Cromwell, then a member and dependent of Woolsey, pleaded for his master with such force of reason and eloquence as caused the house to dismiss the bill. The king gave him a full pardon on the 10th of February, and restored to him goods and furniture to the amount of six thousand pounds (b); yet in October he sent down the earl of Northumberland with a warrant to arrest him on a charge of high treason. Now, whatever crimes the king might have discovered, as committed by Woolsey before, yet the pardon covered and extinguished all. And this whole prosecution of Woolsey was so capricious and wanton, as well as unjust and cruel, that no act of that impetuous and passionate monarch argued a mind less governed by wisdom or justice, or less tempered with mercy and tenderness.

But this whole conduct shewed, that the king had listened to other advisers, and found they were numerous enough to support him in Parliament, and inclined also to do his business without the authority or the advice of the church. Had it been otherwise, the lords never would have passed the bill of impeachment, in a house where the bishops, and abbots, and priors, who had seats, amounted to forty-three in number; viz. eighteen bishops, twenty-four abbots, and the prior of Coventry; and the temporal lords to no more than about sixty.

The parliament had been prorogued to the 6th of January 1531; at which time Sir Thomas Audley was speaker; Sir Thomas More was chancellor, having received the great seal of the king when Woolsey resigned it in April last; and Thomas Cromwell, late servant and dependent of Woolsey, had been taken into the king's council. By the advice of these, or at least with their concurrence and approbation, the king entertained new projects of raising money on the clergy. Woolsey had shewn him the way by demands and extortions, in the year 1527, and had himself fallen a sacrifice to the rapine as well as resentment of the king: and the clergy beheld, with little regret, the avarice and lawless exactions of that man revenged on himself. But the king, seeing his success in having ruined the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, although his minister and chancellor, proceeded farther to employ the same artifices, and with the

(a) Lord Herbert, p. 175.

(b) Rapin, vol. I. p. 785, and the note from Rym. Fed. XIV. p. 375.

same views, against the other clergy. His inclination to rapine met with concurrence from his council and his chancellor; and an indictment was preferred in the King's Bench against all the bishops and clergy of both provinces, for having acted against the statutes of premunire and provisors. As Woolsey had been convicted of exercising his legatine authority without licence from the king, as the statute of premunire requires; and of disposing of several benefices as legate, contrary to the statute of provisors; so all the clergy were considered as consenting and approving, and as accomplices in the same crime, because some had received these benefices. The clergy had already, in this session, given their opinion, among other determinations of the universities both at home and abroad, in favour of the king's divorce, by saying, that pope Julius II. could not dispense with Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. But Henry made no other requital for this judgement on his case than to make them all criminal: and he did this for two reasons; first, to shew the world that he had not extorted this determination from them; and, secondly, that he might extort something else, of more value. Accordingly, the convocation, with Warham at the head, debated this matter; and agreed, January 24, to offer the king one hundred thousand pounds (a) for a pardon, to be levied in five years (b). The instrument, by which this grant is made, is extant in the public acts, and therefore no doubts can remain of its substance and contents; and one reason there assigned for their donation is, 'because the king had shewn great zeal against the Lutherans; who had laboured

(a) What is the present value of this sum may be gathered with great exactness and truth from a little history of the year 1533, recorded by Stow, and taken by Fleetwood into his *Chron. Pretios.*

It was this year enacted, saith Stow, that butchers should sell their beef and mutton by weight; beef for halfpenny a pound, and mutton for three farthings; which being devised for the great commodity of the realm (as it was thought) hath proved quite otherwise. For at that time fat oxen were sold for 26s. 8d. fat weathers for 3s. 4d. fat calves at the like price, and a fat lamb for 12d. The butchers had usually sold penny pieces of beef, for the relief of the poor; every piece two pounds and a half, sometimes three pounds; and thirteen or fourteen of these pieces for 12d. mutton 8d. a quarter; and a hundred weight of beef for 4s. 8d. What price it has grown to since needeth not to be set down.

Stow lived in the time of Elizabeth and James; and by this account it appears, that, if beef is now nine or ten times the price of that time, then the value of money was nine or ten times greater than at present, and the one hundred thousand pounds laid on the clergy was equal to a million at this day.

By this rule also may the revenue of abbeyes be nearly ascertained.

(b) Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 414.

* to destroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknowledged the king to be sole protector and supreme head.' And this is all the ground for transferring the supremacy from a spiritual to a civil crown. Thus began this title in flattery to Henry, and it is confirmed by an act in 1534: it was rejected by Mary, resumed by Elizabeth, and not finally confirmed by act of Parliament until the year 1571. The province of York followed the example of Canterbury, and compounded for 18,840*l*.

The king then, being satisfied with this submission of his clergy, granted them a pardon: but colleges and monasteries were not comprehended in the pardon, though included in the charge and indictment; and therefore stood excepted; and, being considered as having made no submission, were reserved for future vengeance.

In 1532 and 33, Henry proceeded in procuring other acts that tended to extirpate the authority of the pope; and, when Francis told him that his chief view in meeting the pope at Marseilles was to serve him, viz. Henry,—Henry answered, 'that he was so sure of his nobility and commons, he had no apprehension of any thing the pope could do.' And, indeed, with this support, he ventured on many steps that tended to withdraw both laity and clergy from all obedience to the papal authority, notwithstanding the frequent threats of excommunication and interdicts. These were all pleasing to the people in general; but the monks could not forbear loud exclamations, at seeing themselves deprived of their ancient patronage and support; and, without their consent, placed under a new head and new ruler. And this indignation was rising to such height, that the loudest execrations were bestowed on the king and court; and one Peto, a poor Franciscan frier, preaching before the king at his chapel at Greenwich, vented the boldest and most insolent reproaches on his supreme highness: this happened in the year 1535. Though the king affected to despise these invectives, and only appointed Dr. Curwen, a courtly chaplain, to contradict them the next Sunday in the same place (a), yet in this and the following year the king had caused to be apprehended above two hundred poor friers of the Franciscan order. For, it is to be noted, that among the acts passed in the year before, there was one enacted, by which it was declared 'treason to speak, write, or imagine, any thing against the king or queen;

(a) Rapin.

K k k 2

' or

‘ or to call the king heretic, tyrant, schismatic, infidel, or usurper ;’ as some of the friers had opprobriously done (a). At the same time there passed the following acts ; viz. First, To confirm the king’s new title of supremacy ; concerning which he pretended at first great scruples, but soon improved upon all the prerogatives which were construed to flow from it. Secondly, An act to debar the benefit of sanctuary to all persons accused of treason. Thirdly, A form of oath concerning the succession, and to be taken by all persons. Fourthly, An act to give the king the annates or first fruits of all ecclesiastic benefices. By an act passed two years before, these had been directed to be no longer payable to the pope ; and the ecclesiastics hoped they were for ever delivered from this payment. But by this act they were revived, and paid to the king ; and a new valuation of all church preferments was made, and returned to Cromwell, now master of the rolls, by persons commissioned by the lord chancellor : and this valuation is the rate which holds for these payments to this day. The same act also appointed an annual payment to be made, called the tenths.

These counsellors were very ingenious, not only in transferring the power of the pope to their own civil head, but also in providing for the dignity of his new title ; and also in augmenting this little ecclesiastic tax. For first, the annates was, originally, no other than one year rent or profit ; and was a mode imposed on some new incumbents, when Rustand was collector for the pope, in Henry the III^d’s time, instituted in resemblance of the relief paid to the lay lord by every succeeding tenant of copyhold. It began first in the diocese of Norwich, whose bishop, in the above reign, was legate and representative of the pontiff ; and thence it was spread, and, in about a century, became general. But these innovators changed its old name, as if to

(a) These Franciscan friers had a good house at Greenwich. They were the frier-minors ; but had authority, like the frier-preachers, to make that duty a principal part of their profession : at the dissolution they had 65 convents in the kingdom ; the principal of which was in Newgate street ; and Christ’s Church, there situate, was built for them by the donations of the great, in the reign of Edward III. And another great house they had at Coventry, where the present church, with an handsome spire, in the North East end of the town, belonged to them. See Stevens, Cont. of Dugd. vol. II. This was surrendered on the 5th of October, 1539 ; and another at Stanford on the 8th ; but the deed of surrender is exactly the same.

disguise its origin, and called it now by a new appellation of *first fruits*. As this was made in analogy to the fine, paid on taking up an estate among laymen, so they ordained the payment of tenths, in imitation of yearly quit rent; intending hereby to propagate the opinion, that the temporalities of the church were holden by the like kind of tenure as those of the laity. And, to draw the bond closer between the clergy and their new lay pope, another act passed, to enable the king to appoint suffragan bishops; as if in appearance to revive a practice in the ancient church, but in reality to create bishops, without any interference from Rome; and, lastly, an act had been passed to condemn Sir Thomas More, and bishop Fisher, to perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of their goods, for refusing to take the oath required in the session before (a).

The insolence of the monks had greatly provoked and exasperated the king: and in this year, 1535, he had proceeded to execute some of these men (as the prior of the charterhouse (b), and some others), for refusing the oath of his supremacy: and he had also put to death some of the Protestants merely because they were heretics; and this was done by the late act, whereby he repealed the act of Henry IV. and took away the judgement of heresy from the church. In this summer he had caused above thirty persons to suffer death for heresy. The colleges and monasteries still lay under the charge of having offended against the act of premunire, and had not yet made their peace: and the imprudent zeal of these men had highly exasperated the king. What terms could be made, or what mediation could be offered! The king was wholly intent on exercising his new

(a) Sir Thomas More dwelt at this time at a seat in this county called Gobions, now belonging to John Hunter, Esq. and in this house is still preserved the altar, which stood in a small chapel, and at which More had been accustomed to pay his devotions. The Romish worship inculcated an external and mechanical service, and seems to abhor all abstract acts of the mind; and thereby came to rest in the former and to reject the latter; whereas both are proper and allowable, if the first is used as the means to the latter.

(b) Among those Carthusians who had been imprisoned and had escaped death by a release, was Maurice Chauncey, a relation of Sir Henry Chauncey. This man went abroad, came home when Mary reigned, and was made her confessor. At her death, he retired to some religious house abroad; and wrote an account of the sufferings of his brethren, and of Houghton the prior. This book was printed at Cologne in 1608; but contains a shocking account of the violence and unjust prosecution of Houghton. This man, with eighteen of his brethren, were imprisoned in Newgate; whence some who escaped death by starving, were at length delivered; but the poor prior was tried, convicted, hanged, and quartered, and the mangled limbs hung up on the gates of the charter-house.

power,

power, and seemed to exult as if he had vanquished a people that had never before been subject to him. The new archbishop, Cranmer, together with Cromwell, secretly favoured the Protestant doctrines, but thought it dangerous to make open declaration of those inclinations; and they thought they could not do more in favor of the Reformation than remove the obstacles to it. In a council, holden in this summer of 1535, the case of the monks was considered: after some person had gone so far as to suggest a total suppression of them, a great debate ensued; when the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Longland, though they had with reluctance consented to extirpate the papal power, yet refused their consent to this step; saying, this would extirpate all religion, and open the door to all kind of heresy; thinking that in monasteries only, and not among the seculars, was to be found all ancient learning, all true devotion, and all right worship. By the arguments which were urged on both sides, and with much earnestness and zeal, the king perceived that to abolish this class of men all at once would be very ungrateful to his subjects, and offensive to the three great men then present: he therefore affected a submission to their opinion; and resolved to execute this work gently and gradually. The first step he thought most necessary was to ruin the character of these places, and diminish the respect which people bore towards them; assuring himself, that no one durst appear as the protector or advocate of licentious and depraved clergy. He then, in pursuit of such intent, and in consequence of his new headship, constitutes Cromwell a visitor general; with orders to appoint commissioners to visit in person all religious foundations, and make inquiry in what manner the rule of the house was maintained, whether devotion was observed, good order kept, and how their revenues were expended. The commissioners appointed by Cromwell were Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law; and Dr. John London, dean of Wallingford, with others of less note, as Belasis, &c. Cromwell gave them instructions under eighty-six heads of inquiry; and the visitors set forth on their work, on October 18, 1535.

Now, suppressing these houses, which were the seminaries of religion, the consolation of the aged, the support of poor gentry, and the relief of the indigent, was a bold thought, and could not but be offensive to the pious and devout. It was bold and daring, because the founders had established these houses with the most earnest imprecations

precations on all those who should disturb the endowment, or pervert their good intention. Yet the dread of so bold a step was abated, and the eyes of the pious accustomed to behold, without emotion, what had been lately done, in the way of suppressing these seats of religion. For, so late as 1533, on February 24, the priory of Christ's Church, or the Holy Trinity, near Aldgate, in London, was suppressed (a), and perhaps by the sole authority of the king; and all its lands, and plate, and furniture, given to Sir Thomas Audley, then speaker, and just made keeper of the Great Seal. All men could remember that Woolsey had procured the suppression of more than twenty houses, about eight years ago, though in a legal way; and had applied the revenue to uses of religious education. Farther back in history, it was seen that the kings of England had seized the alien priories, and kept the rents during the wars; though they had restored them after. And what struck the minds of all men most forcibly was the fatal suppression of the whole order of Templars, in the year 1307; an example which would make all religious tremble, as well at the full end obtained as at the flagitious means of obtaining that end. The remembrance of these events shocked most persons, in proportion as they found themselves interested.

The visitors had doubtless received a full lesson at their departure; and were ordered to intimidate and terrify, with all possible threats of rigor, and hints of the danger which the monks were in from the premunire. Applications were made to them suitable to their case: the timid were frightened, the stout were tempted, the faultless were courted, and the guilty and vicious were terrified; in short, before Christmas many small houses had surrendered their charter, especially in Kent, where Leighton had visited. An offer was made, that all who had professed under twenty-four years of age, should be at liberty to depart, and put on a secular habit; but the monks, not knowing how to live in the busy world, so contrary to their accustomed ways, chose to stay. The report of the visitors was completed and published by the month of January, 1535-6; and was supposed to contain all the worst relation that could be gathered, and that done in haste; for, the visitors finished their work in ten weeks. The full report never lived long; and Burnet saw only an abstract, containing an account of 144 houses, which, for their abominations

(a) Stow, p. 360.

and superstitions, he dwells on, with his wonted credulity, and great predilection for scandal (a).

Whatever truth or falsehood was well grounded, the king thought this report would answer his purpose; and, on the meeting of Parliament, on the 4th of February 1535-6, he laid before them the great grievance of these houses, and what a scandal they were to the state, &c. In a short time, an act passed for dissolving all that had 200l. a year or under. This suppression comprehended in it 376 priories, small abbeys, nunneries, canonries, and by whatever name they had been incorporated. The revenues of them were found to amount to 32,000l. *per annum*; and the plate, goods, ornaments, and furniture, were valued at 100,000l. The act gave all this to the king; and he pretended a fear of a war with the emperor, the better to justify this largess. Henry constituted a court of augmentations of the king's revenue, to receive and administer this new acquisition; and ordered his engineers, &c. to fortify some accessible points on the coast, and defend the harbours (b).

This court was ordained to have a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney, a solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger: by which grand apparatus, a strong suspicion arose that they would learn, and soon be able, to manage the revenue of the whole church. On the 14th of April, the king dissolved this Parliament as if in resentment. The same had sat six years; which was longer than any Parliament had sat since their rise and origin.

This grand point of dissolving all the less monasteries concluded the labour of this faithful Parliament: and the king, thinking his business accomplished, and enough done to bring the clergy under his obedience, began to reward and promote some of his constant friends in Parliament. In the October before the end of this Parliament he

(a) In this return, of which the original (or an authentic copy from it) may be seen in the Brit. Mus. the general character of the house is set down in a very short and concise manner, without any notice of their general deportment and outward behaviour: thus, if any relics were found in the chapel, the monks were set down as *superstitiosi*. They were marked by another odious appellation and character, and *sodom* was the word annexed; in nunneries, the character was signified by *pepererunt*. Thus all persons were equally involved in one and the same charge; and that charge was not only never proved, but the guilt of it could never be known with certainty, and only guessed by the visitors.

(b) The surveys to this purpose are in the Cott. Lib. Aug. I.

had issued a commission to Cromwell, already master of the rolls, and secretary to the council, appointing him vicegerent, or vicar-general, to execute the king's functions of supremacy; and about this time, viz. in June 1536, the king made him Privy Seal; and, in the autumn following, created him a baron. But the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, than infinite murmurs and discontent arose in the counties of Lincoln and of York; and the malcontents, who were the ejected monks and the zealous Catholics, assembled in great bodies; and, shewing themselves in an armed posture, put on the appearance of a formidable rebellion. History informs us by what artifices the duke of Norfolk, who secretly favored their claims, cajoled them to disperse and go home; and how many worthy men of rank and name fell a sacrifice to the king's resentments.

But, at the beginning of this rebellion, the king thought fit to re-endow one and thirty of these dissolved houses, in the month of August. And, as if foreseeing the clamours that would rise on turning the monks and nuns out of doors, to beg and starve, he summoned a new Parliament, a few days after he had dismissed the old; and directed them to meet on the 8th of June. A new reason for this was to settle the succession; and a new act now declared the issue of both queens illegitimate, and that the Crown should descend to the issue of some future queen. Another act was, that all usurpations of the Parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty-four years of age, might be repealed by letters patent under the Great Seal: an act that was made as if on a sudden and necessary emergency, but which opened the door as wide as possible for the king to claim, and the Parliament to admit, any thing for prerogative which he might choose. Another act of this session was to annul all dispensations, immunities, and privileges, flowing from the Court of Rome; saving, to the archbishop of Canterbury, the power of confirming what should not be contrary to the word of God or common decency, and this confirmation to pass likewise under the Great Seal. There were other laws also made to exclude the Papal power more perfectly if possible, and one to give to the successor of every incumbent in any ecclesiastic preferment the profits that arose during the vacancy: which had been formerly taken by the king, in all the large preferments, and the pope's collectors, in the small. This session continued only forty days: no money was granted, nor indeed asked: and no impediment could arise to the bills proposed, when the House

of Commons, and the lay lords, were unanimous, and the bishops and abbots did not often attend the house. The peers were in number about fifty-four, the bishops eighteen, and the abbots twenty-six, and these two latter bodies were very much occupied in the convocation which was now sitting; in which the king amused them with ten articles of religion, so composed of Popish and reformed doctrines as to cause great debates and constant contention: in all which it appeared that the king meant nothing relating to divine truth, or liberty of conscience, or public peace; but to depress the church, enrich himself by this base sacrilege, and gratify his own violent brutal nature.

The year ended with the suppression of the insurrections, and the King began to reward those who had served him. He made Sir William Fitzwilliams earl of Southampton: this man, under the duke of Norfolk, had distinguished himself in the last summer against the rebels; before that, had shewn great naval skill, had commanded fleets of ships to guard the Channel, and borne the title of vice-admiral: he had arrived at this degree of note and favour by being always ready in Parliament to promote every proposal for suppressing papal authority; and this had shewn itself in him very strong at the time of the cardinal's fall; when Sir William, together with Anthony Fitz Herbert, carried up to the House of Lords the bill for impeaching Woolsey (a), and laid the foundation of his overthrow: and against which Cromwell had pleaded so successfully in the House of Commons. Sir John Russell, who had in his youth been an attendant on the king at all his sports and tournaments, and a gallant soldier in France; and since that always obedient to the king's views in Parliament; and who last year had been joined in commission with the duke of Suffolk and Sir Francis Brians, to try the rebels and execute justice, was made comptroller of the king's household, with the title of lord Russell (b). And Sir William Pawlet, who had been servant to Henry VII. then treasurer to

(a) Consisting of twenty-eight articles. See Herbert, p. 126; and Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 119.

(b) It is a tradition in the west of England that Russell owed all his good fortune to this circumstance, that he had contributed to save the life of some Spanish Prince or noble, who, in his voyage to the Netherlands, was shipwrecked on the coast of Dorsetshire; that Russell entertained him at his house, and the prince, thinking it necessary to pay his duty to the king, took Russell with him to Court, where Henry first saw him, and kept him near his person.

Henry VIII. in his household, and in the three following reigns lord treasurer, and always chosen to Parliament, was now made lord St. John. The writers of his life say, ' that he lived at a time when ' happened the dissolution of abbeys ; which was the harvest of estates ; ' and it argued idleness if any courtier had his barns empty. He was ' a younger brother, and came to court on trust ; where, upon the ' stock of his wit, he trafficked so wisely, and prospered so well, that ' he got, spent, and left, more than any subject since the Conquest.' He lived till 1572, and died aged 97, leaving 103 descendents (a)

In the preceding summer, the commissioners, under the vicegerent, had proceeded to take possession of the dissolved houses, in spite of the insurrections ; and had begun to pull down and sell the materials, and to alienate the lands and estates. This new source of riches was so acceptable to the king and court, that he made no application for subsidy or supply to the last Parliament, who had sat forty days, although he saw that the emperor would probably make war on him, in order to prevent Henry from aiding the Protestants, whom Charles determined to humble, if not suppress.

Henry having directed another visitation to be made during the past winter, when the report came back, in the spring of 1537, he caused it to be printed and made public. And, with a view to diminish the great reverence which the people bore towards the monks, care was taken to enlarge and explain the fallacies and deceits which the monks practised with their images and their relics. It was not now laboured to render them odious for any internal corruptions or gross immoralities charged as before ; for, they were not believed : but now the tricks and impostures of these houses were set forth in a ludicrous manner : that the images of the virgin that nodded, or rolled the eyes, and performed other gestures, were performed by secret springs and wires ; that the crucifix at Boxley, then in great repute, was of this sort ; that there were in England three or four heads of St. Ursula ; and that all the relics were counterfeit. These suggestions, whether believed or not by the vulgar, shewed plainly the king's intentions ; on which the vicegerent ordered a commission to search and bring away many of these relics and images ; but to preserve any thing that was of value, for the use of the house. Accordingly much trumpery,

(a) Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia* ; and Life of Sir William Pawlet. London, 1572, 8vo.

as images, shrines, pictures, relics, were seized and burnt: and, at Canterbury, these reformers proceeded to dig up the bones of Becket, and burn them in the midst of the relics and images; the shrine was demolished and burnt, and a very fine diamond, affixed to it and presented as an offering by Lewis VII. soon after the death of Becket, in 1171, was torn away, and, as if possessed of more sanctity, carried to the king, who wore it afterwards on his thumb. These were the proceedings in 1537.

The next year produced more injunctions from the vicegerent, in favour of Reformation; and more acts of injustice in the king, in favour of Popery. He condescended to enter into a formal dispute with one Lambert; who ventured to dispute with Cranmer, and seven or eight others, at the same time: the subject is not declared, but the result was, that, at the close of the disputation, Cromwell read the poor man's sentence to be committed to the flames as an heretic, although not knowing that he was convicted or even put on his trial. But thus did this execrable tyrant put to death Protestants for being heretics, and Catholics for impugning his new prerogative of supremacy. In this year 21 monasteries were suppressed and sold; and in 1539 the number suppressed was 101 (a).

The last visitation had been calculated for the sole purpose of finding plausible reasons for a farther dissolution: for, the king had resolved on it; and perhaps had this view when he called a new Parliament: and the irregularities and crimes pretended to be discovered, would enable him, he thought, to justify his revenge, and shew his love of purity: but in truth satiate his avarice. The commissioners went about this year receiving surrenders; a form of which they generally brought with them ready prepared, and often in the same words, however the houses might differ from each other in circumstances. But their way was, to live freely in a monastery, causing the best entertainment to be furnished; and, after gaining the head and a few principals, on some kind of bargain made, they signed their names, and were turned out of doors.

This was the proceeding with the less monasteries, which had been suppressed by the act passed in 1536 by the Old Parliament: No act had yet passed for suppressing the greater; but the report of the vi-

(a) See Rym. Fœd. vol. XIV. p. 590; and Burnet, 1 tom.

sitors was carefully dispersed, in order to ruin their character. And of the abbey of St. Alban it was reported by them, that such had been the depredations and waste of the estates, the abbey could no longer maintain an abbot. All this might be true; for, the king's agent had had the rule and management these eight years past, though Catton had been made abbot in 1530. He died in 1538; and Boreman was put in his place; with no other view than to make a surrender in form. This artifice was now practised wherever there was a vacancy. In old time, every election of abbot was confirmed by the pope or his legate; but, since the new supremacy had been established, the elections were made in this manner. The king granted a *congé d'élire* to the prior and convent, with a missive letter, shewing the name of the person whom he recommended, and yet under a premunire to refuse. The election being thus made, the writ was returned, endorsed with the name, and the king signified his assent under the Great Seal; then it was certified to the vicegerent, who returned it to the king, and he restored the temporalities.

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(a) Catton died in 1538, and the following letter was written on the visitation made in December by Leigh and Petre, to Cromwell.

Please it your lordship to be advertised. At our comyng to Saint Albons on Thursday last, we beganne a visitation among the monkes, the abbot being then in London. And because we wolde the more fully knowe the hole state of all thing, tarred the longer in the examination of them. And upon Friday last we sent a monition for the abbot to appear before us, who came hither on Saturday before none: whosome we have likewise as fully examined upon all things as we might. And although, as well by the examination of the monks as by confession of the abbot himself, there doth appear confessed and fully proved intire cause of deprivation against the abbot, not only for breaking the king's injunctions, but also for manifest dilapidations, making of giftes, negligent administration, and sundry other causes; yet, by what means we know not, in all communications or motions made concerning any surrender, he sheweth hymself so stiff, that as he saith he wold rather choyse to begge his bredde all the days of his life than consent to any surrender. We have everich of us severally, and also all together, communed with him, and used all such motions as we thought must further that purpose; but he continueth always one man, and waxeth hourly more obstinate and less conformable: whether he so doo upon trust and confidence of any friendship we know not. The premisses we thought our bounden duty to signifie unto your lordshippe, most humbly beseeching the same that we may, by Mr. Dr. Layton, know the king's highness further pleasure by you; whether we shall continew in the proofs of deprivation against him, and so deprive him according to the order of justice without longer delay: which don, the house will be in such debt that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any doo it only for that purpose to surrender the same unto the kinges hands. And by these means we think this thing may most easily be, and with less spede be brought to the kinges highness purpose,

The report made by the visitors on this second visitation hath not reached these times, and is said to have been destroyed, with all the copies thereof, in the days of queen Mary, when she laboured a restoration of Popery. But, though they pretended to have discovered many enormities, not only in the morals, but in the œconomy and rule, of the houses; yet it was said at the time, and uncontradicted, that the commissioners had committed great violence and injustice, that they had robbed and carried off all the plate and precious stones found in some houses, had committed great outrages in others, and that Dr. London had violated the nuns at Godstow, and quite disgraced his reforming character. It is to be remembered that no law had been made yet for dissolving the greater abbeys; and no Parliament had sat since July 1536. Yet the commissioners, under the authority of the new supreme and his newer vicegerent, when they visited the greater monasteries, treated of their surrender, and proposed terms. And, if the priors and heads could get a good bargain, the surrender followed in a few days: and they hoped to excuse themselves by pleading the debts of the house, and the ruin and decay of the buildings. Though threats and promises had truly the greatest share in influencing these pious rulers, yet the form of the surrenders generally ran thus, ‘ the abbot and brethren, upon mature consideration, or full deliberation, on their own proper motion, on full and certain knowledge, and for just and good causes them hereunto moving, in their souls and consciences do, of their own accord, freely and willingly give and grant unto the king, their house, lands, goods, furniture,’ &c. These last surrenders, which were of many of the great houses, the king wished should appear as voluntary, and merely of free choice by the abbots and priors. But every creature saw the falsity of this royal illusion, and how forced these surrenders were. And in truth, such

pose. Or els whether we shall stay in our press at this time, and appoint some longer day to here the sentence of deprivation, leaving him in the mean time in utter desperation of any favour. Which waye maye also be occasion, that when it shall appear unto him that he shall be deprived, will perchance sue to have his surrender taken, because he wold be assured of some lyving. The premisses we refer to the king’s highness pleasure, which knowing by your lordship, we shall with all our possible diligence conform ourselves to accomplish the same: and in the mean’time travail with the monks to know how many of them may be induced to this purpose. Thus Almighty God have your lordshipe in his blessed keepyng. From St. Albons the 10th of December, 1538.

William Petre.

Cott. MS, Cleop. E. 4.

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was the power which he had gained over all ranks of men, that none durst find fault with his conduct, much less oppose his will. Yet, the better to save appearances, the king ordered the Parliament to be called together on the 28th of April, 1539. The commissioners were now busy in the country, visiting, receiving surrenders, packing up the valuables, and proceeding to sell what was not movable (a).

The king caused a report to be spread that the kingdom was going to be invaded : he hurried down to the coasts, to order and direct more forts and bulwarks ; commended a fleet to be fitted, men to be raised, and levies of land soldiers to be provided, with all speed, to be led against the invader. All this seemed to have in it great reality ; and, as it would be necessary to demand a subsidy of Parliament, and for Parliament to tax the individuals, the laity bore, with less regret, the destruction of the religious houses, when it appeared that these houses would be able to furnish the supplies. And the king shewed little fear of the pretended invasion, when he saw and experienced so much liberality in his clergy. The yearly value of all the lands of the monasteries was discovered to be, next year, about 161,000*l.* besides great

(a) What expedition the visitors used in demolishing the abbeyes and houses that were surrendered into their hands, the following letter will shew ; which was written by one of them, after he had taken possession of Jorval, a Cistercian abbey in Yorkshire.

Plesythe your good lordship to be advertysed, I have taken down all the lead of Jervase, and made it in pecys of half foders, which lead amountyth to the number of eighteen score and five foders ; with thirty and four foders and a half, that were ther before ; and the said lead cannot be conveyt nor caryed unto the next sambre, for the ways in that country are so foull and deep that no caryage can pass in wyntre : and as concernynge the raising and taking down the house, iff it be your lordshipp's pleasure, I am mindeth to lett it stand to the spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short it would be double charges to do it now : and as, concerning the selling of the belles, I cannot sell them above fifteen shillings the hundreth, wherein I would gladly know your lordship's pleasure, whether I should sell them after that price or send up to London. And, if they be sent up, surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water. And, as for Bridlington, I have down nothing there as yet, but spayreth it to March next, because the days now are so short ; and from such time as I begyn I trust shortly to dispatch it after such fashion, that, when all is finished, I trust your lordship shall think that I have been no evil housbound in all such things as your lordship appointed me to do ; and thus the Holy Ghost preserve your lordship in honour.

At York the 14th day of November, 1538, by your most bounden beadman.

Richard Bellyceys.

This letter is among Dodsworth's MSS, number 24, in the Bodleian Library.

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sums daily coming in from the sale of lead, bells, and other materials, and from goods, and furniture, and rich ornaments of the choir. As a specimen of these secret riches, it is to be noted, that in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury there were found 5000 marcs in gold and bullion, value 3333*l* of the money at that time.

The king, as it appeared now, had taken part with the reformers, not through any preference to their religious doctrines, but merely with a view to tread down the old papal clergy, and extirpate the authority of the pope. And, having taken part with the reformers till he had effected his intent, he began now to throw off all disguise, and to prove that he meant not to change the religion of his kingdom: for, as soon as the Parliament met, he caused a bill to be brought in for abolishing diversity of opinion. This was done by the suggestion of Gardiner or Norfolk, and the bill contained a perfect restoration of the old Romish doctrines (a), making it penal to deny transubstantiation, or to reject private masses and auricular confession; the punishment to be by burning or hanging. It was in vain for Cranmer to argue against them; for, both houses passed the bill with great dispatch, as if determined to keep the old religion, though they were proceeding to destroy the main professors of it. By another act, the Parliament granted to the king all the lands of the monasteries which had been surrendered; and supposed to be surrendered freely: yet, to exclude all possible doubt in future, the Parliament thought it necessary to decide that point. By this act no suppression or dissolution was enjoined, as by the first act that ordained an actual suppression of all those under 200*l*. a year; and, of course, no religious houses were actually and in direct terms suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the surrenders, that either had been or should be made in future, were confirmed. And it was enacted that the lands so surrendered should pass to the king exactly as the religious houses had held them. This act was dispatched with the more speed, because the king intimated that he would employ this new accession of riches in useful foundations; and another bill passed, to enable him to erect and endow new bishopricks.

When this bill was read in the Lords House, the abbots and priors who attended were at no reading more than twenty; and the bishops, if present, could add only eighteen more; the lay lords were about

(a) In six articles, and called the Bloody Articles.

fifty-six. But it was a subject that drew all of that order to be interested, in the hopes of gaining; for, in the debate it was said, the lands ought to go to the heirs and successors of the donors, by reversion; or to the lords of whom they were holden, by escheat. Others pleaded that they should fall to the king, absolute; to support which it was argued, that all the lands of the Heathen temples, which Theodosius demolished, came to the Emperor's exchequer; upon this reason, because, by the will of the donors, the lands were totally alienated and divested out of them and their heirs. In favour of the second opinion it was said, that, in the case of the knights templars, when they were dissolved, it was adjudged in favour of the lords, by escheat; although, it was well known, that the pope and king, juggling together on that occasion, cheated all the lords of their escheats; and this was the foundation and true cause of all that iniquitous prosecution: but this plea was not allowed now; because the lords progenitors had made these endowments by free consent and frequent confirmation, without the least reservation or special proviso. In favour of the reversion it was said, that these endowments had been made, in consideration of duties to be done, and masses to be said, and holy offices to be performed; therefore, when these duties were caused to cease, it was but just that the hire, on this non-performance of the condition, should go to the heirs of the founder by reversion. This opinion was well founded; but it was said, that many of these endowments had been made by the King's ancestors and predecessors; and therefore he was thought to have a double claim: and thus the example of Theodosius, backed by this claim of reversion, gave a plausible pretext for giving all the lands to the king. As for the goods and movables, the rich vestments, and splendid ornaments, they were so much the property of the present monks, when their continuity was to cease, and their trust to expire, that, on all principles of justice, they should not have been robbed and spoiled of them; and, if the voice of humanity could have been heard in this general clamour of avarice and rapine, these movables should have been sold, and the money reserved for the use of the owners; who were soon to be turned into the wide world, with a very slender pension. But, by the act, all these goods and movables, together with an amazing quantity of the same from the cathedrals, were carried away by the visitors, and swallowed up by the royal vortex, never to appear or be heard of more.

This same Parliament immediately passed the famous act of prece-
dency (a), which, though wanted before, in order to regulate some
disorders, seems to have been made principally with a view to com-
pliment Cromwell, whose office, being new, gave him no rank by
usage and precedent. But the king placed him above all other per-
sons, and next to the royal family. When the Parliament met, on
the 12th of April, 1540, the king created Cromwell earl of Essex;
Sir Thomas Audley, lord Audley; and William Parr, lord Parr,
who was afterwards made marquis of Northampton (b).

During the last year, 1539, fifty-seven surrenders were made: the
originals of thirty are yet to be seen: and among them were the
abbeys of Westminster, Waltham, St. Alban, Glastonbury, and St.
Peter, in Gloucester. But, in this session, held in 1540, a special act
was made to suppress the prior and hospitallers of St. John of Jerusa-
lem, situate in Clerkenwell.

Here then, from the Parliament in 1539, issued that dead war-
rant, which was intended to extirpate all the monastic institutions.
But it was drawn with such equivocal form, (being no positive com-
mand to suppress, or on the abbots to surrender, but only a confir-
mation of all that had been, and was to be, done,) that it seemed in-
tended as a snare to entrap the unwary, and to intimidate the bold.
The abbot of Reading refused to surrender; on which he was seized,
and hurried away to London; in the Michaelmas term, charged,
tried, and convicted, in the King's Bench, of high treason; and, on
the 14th of November, brought, together with two of his monks
involved in the same charge, to an ignominious execution at Tyburn.
This man's name was Hugh Faringdon, and he had ruled his abbey
for nineteen years, with great prudence and œconomy, yet with
abundant hospitality and charity. The case of poor Whiting, the
abbot of Glastonbury, was equally unjust and wicked; and attended
with more circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity. When he re-
fused to surrender, or to sign the deed prepared and offered to him

(a) Stat. 31 Henry VIII.

(b) It is here proper to remark, that, on the resignation of More, May 20, 1532, Audley, then speaker of the House of Commons, was appointed keeper of the Great Seal; and, in January 1532-3, made chancellor. Yet he continued to sit, as member in the Commons House, together with Cromwell, from that time to this year 1540; when they first, and not before, received these honours and titles, and passed to the Upper House. Warton, in his ingenious Life of Pope, not regarding this, has committed some mistakes in the date of facts.

by the visitors, he was told that he must prepare to go along with them to London: on which he was put into a litter; and, when he came to Wells, he found the sheriff, jury, and gentry, assembled, and himself set to the bar and arraigned for high treason. He had no time allowed him to prepare, or even to procure counsel, for his defence: of course he was speedily convicted: and the next day, being the 14th of November, when the like bloody tragedy was exhibited on poor Farringdon, our abbot of Glastonbury was drawn, hanged, and quartered, together with two of his monks. His head was fixed on the top of the abbey gate, and his four quarters hung up in four of the neighbouring towns. Such was the fate of this abbey, which had been the most ancient of all, the richest and best endowed(a), and which had ever been cherished and favoured by all preceding kings, whether Saxon, Norman, or English; and its administration had been admirably conducted for 15 years by this Whiting: who, besides keeping 100 monks, maintained 300 domestics and dependants, in many inferior offices, connected and subordinate to the abbey; and among them many sons and relations of gentlemen; he also distributed certain fixed alms, two days in the week, to the poor of the parishes adjoining; he received and treated all travellers; and sometimes took in and entertained 500 horsemen at once: yet he was now at last charged with embezzling some of the abbey's jewels and precious stones; and other crimes were accumulated, to make it treason: and this farce of law, and mockery of all justice, was carried to this extremity, against a man eighty years of age. 'Surely there is a God ' that judgeth the earth: ' and though we see not full judgement and retribution passed on great offenders, while they live; yet we may often discern some traces of judgements, some beginnings of punishment to take place on them, in this world; which undoubtedly are intended, by the Great Moral Judge, as lessons to the living, and intimations that ' he ruleth over all, and will one day complete the ' judgement in full measure.'

The vicegerent had now completed his work, and gained full gratification to the avarice of his master: but what was his reward? The king created him earl of Essex on the 17th of April, 1540; and cut off his head in July. The visitors, and their agents, Price, Gage, Bellasis, are now known only by their names, and no history re-

(a) Except Westminster, which was valued at 3371l.; whereas Glastonbury was valued at 3311l.

mains of any future events relating to most of them (a). And the names of the sheriff, judge, and jury, who put to death this aged abbot, are consigned to utter oblivion in this world. But the time will come when a higher tribunal than their own will take cognizance of them; and proceed by such rules of equity as they refused to poor Whiting.

These severities were entirely unnecessary, because most of the surrenders were made in this year; and therefore they were the more wanton, unprovoked, and cruel. But Dr. London met with a repulse at Godstow, which he expected not; for, after expostulating, and using all fair means with Katharine Bulkeley, the abbess, to induce her to surrender, he changed his tone, and threatened to dissolve her house in spite of her teeth. She wrote, on this, a complaint to Cromwell, on the ill-usage she had been treated with; and, in a letter still extant, and penned with all the politeness of manner, just sense of duty and allegiance, and such style of scholarship and purity of language, as would be rarely met with in these days, interceded for the preservation of her sisterhood and nunnery. The letter is dated November 1, 1539 (b); but all in vain did she solicit; for, she was compelled to give up the charter, seal, &c. and depart the place soon after.

The visitors thought fit to exhibit another instance of their sovereign cruelty, on the abbot or prior of St. John's, in Colchester, named John Beche. This man had stoutly rejected all their temptations, either by promises of advantage or threats of terror, and determined to abide his fate rather than abandon his trust. This was in November; and, with the usual concise mode of convicting, he

(a) Dr. William Petre was born at Exeter of a Devonshire family; bred up at Exeter College, in Oxford, where he commenced a doctor of laws; and, in 1534, was selected one of the visitors and commissioners, for enquiring and proceeding in the dissolution; in 1544 was made secretary of state, and laid the foundation of peerage, &c.

Of Dr. London it is affirmed in the *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 538, that he was afterward convicted of perjury, and forced by a just sentence to pass through Windsor and Ockingham, with his face to the horse's tail; and a paper on his head to certify his crime. This Dr. John London was, at the dissolution, dean of Wallingford, then made canon of Windsor, and warden of New College; and, when the king established a bishop's see at Osney, he was made the first dean; but, having employed himself at Windsor in swearing against some innocent persons, charged with high treason, he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced as above. *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 104.

(b) See the Appendix.

was sentenced to be hanged ; and, this was executed on him, December 1, 1539, at Colchester.

These severities also were quite unnecessary, if meant to intimidate the nominal abbot of St. Albans ; for, doubtless the visitors had long had this abbey in their eye ; and had long prepared for an easy and cheap conquest over it. Catton had been dead near two years ; and had lived in perfect subjection to the ministerial agents, who had lodged in the monastery more or less ever since the time of Catesby (a). Catton had been made abbot for his quality of being docile and tractable. In this state he departed ; and the same agent procured one Boreman, then prior of Norwich, to be elected abbot here ; chosen, doubtless, for the purpose ; and thought utterly fit for compliance. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, 1539, Sir Thomas Pope (b), Dr. Petre, Mr. Cavendish, and others, the king's visitors, came down to the abbey : and Boreman, on sight of the instrument presented to him, signed his name, and delivered up the seal ; thus tamely putting these harpies in possession of a revenue, which by the late valuations was estimated at 2500l. a year by Stow's account, and at 2100l. by Dugdale's.

Here closes the scene ; and here may we behold fallen and set for ever the glory and splendor of this and all other of these religious corporations, which, with most pious intentions in the founders, with general good conduct in the rulers, with most grateful acceptance in the sober and virtuous of all ranks, had provided for the wants and necessities of men ; and the revenues, which had cheered the hearts of the naked and hungry, now turned out of the channel of hospitality and beneficence, to be dissipated and wasted in the vo-

(a) These had passed under the name and character of idle gentlemen ; but were suspected of being no better than spies ; and employed to send their remarks to those agents near the court, who were watchful to any delinquency among either laity or clergy. But since visitors had been appointed, these and their attendants did frequently come down, and, ordering the best fare to be provided, lived here as long as they found convenient.

(b) The visitors were accompanied by Sir Thomas Pope ; who, though no visitor, yet attended on this occasion, as if to give solemnity to this important ceremony. He had been knighted, in 1536, when others had received honours and titles from the king ; and was at this time treasurer and second officer of the Augmentation Court ; and aged about thirty. More will be said of him hereafter ; but it is highly probable he now first became acquainted with those ample manors and estates which he afterwards procured.

luptuous:

luptuous pleasures, and base gratifications, of the court and its followers.

Boreman's treachery and mean compliance was rewarded with a grant from the king of 266l. a year, during life, by a charter dated December the 14th: some small yearly pensions were granted by the same instrument to the chief of his brethren, the monks, as under noted; but what became of the abbot is not known.

	l.	s.	d.	
To Richard Boreman, abbot,	266	13	4	or 400 marks.
To Thomas Kingsbury, prior,	33	6	8	
To John Alban, -	13	6	8	
To Thomas Island, -	8	0	0	
To William Hemingford, -	8	0	0	
To William Estridge, -	8	0	0	
To William Ashwell, -	10	0	0	
To John Wendover, -	7	0	0	
To Thomas Newnham, -	12	0	0	
To William Wynch, -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Barry, -	8	13	4	
To William Albon, -	12	0	0	
To Geoffery Sterling, -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Merchant, -	8	0	0	
To Edward Hills, -	8	0	0	
To John Wheathamstead, -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Campion, -	6	13	4	
To Robert Bury, -	6	13	4	
To Robert Moreton, -	8	0	0	
To Henry Bestney, -	8	0	0	
To John Brightwife, -	6	0	0	
To Stephen Baily, -	13	6	8	
To William Este, -	12	0	0	
To Ralph Rickmeresworth, -	8	0	0	
To John Salter, -	13	6	8	
To Edward Sidney, -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Curtis, -	6	0	0	
To Thomas Bartlin, -	6	0	0	
To Richard Bennet, -	8	0	0	
To William Leonard, -	8	0	0	
To Robert Gregory, -	6	0	0	
To Robert Gyles, -	6	13	4	

To

		l.	s.	d.
	To Peter Catton, - -	6	0	0
	To Thomas Albon, - -	8	0	0
37	To Thomas Byngham, - -	5	0	0
	To Roger Mighell, - -	5	0	0
	To William Allen, - -	5	0	0
	To William Adam, - -	6	13	4
	To Richard Bever, - -	6	13	4
40.	To Richard Milmars, - -	6	13	4
		<hr/>		
		482	0	8

I should here conclude my history of this abbey, and forbear to prosecute the subject any farther, were it not that the work of this monstrous innovation, wherein sacrilege was called reforming, and which had now been transacting ever since 1534, was completed at this time, with regard only to this abbey, the fate of which we see brought near a conclusion; and in it the fate of some hundreds more. But the subject is so replete with consequences, and the change was such a revolution in the clerical part of the Constitution, that curiosity is raised to know what effects these violent convulsions produced.

And here it is impossible to resolve the first principles of this great commotion into any other motive than the extreme unbounded rapacity of the king and his favorites. The expences of his court being ostentatious and profuse, and exceeding all the legal income, he cast his avaricious eye on the possessions of the most weak and helpless body to be found in his kingdom. In the plenitude of his supremacy he might have been tempted to establish a rival popedom, to exalt the bishops and abbots into cardinals, erect a' conclave, and, with this power, subdue the lay lords, and hold them and their estates as fiefs of his holy see; but he forbore this plan, as well knowing the lords to be a martial race of men, and the leaders of multitudes like themselves: or, he might, without any scruples of conscience, as easily have assumed the post and dignity of a new grand signior, have authorized the Koran, and established polygamy, as more agreeable to his

his vague and carnal principles ; but he chose to fall on the weakest, as affording the easiest conquest, and the richest booty : having industriously spread reports of their misrule and abuse, he raised a general prejudice against them ; and boasting that, if Parliament would give him the monasteries, he would never apply for aids or subsidies, but would be able to keep 40,000 men in arms, for the constant defence of the realm ; that, his exchequer being thus enriched, the splendor of the nation would be augmented ; and that, lest the honour of the kingdom should receive any diminution, there being twenty-nine lords of Parliament, (abbots and priors,) who held *per baroniam*, he would create a number of nobles (a) ; he thus united the nobles and gentry in his views, and seduced them into a temper of compliance. And lucky it was, for the future felicity of the nation, that he was so violent and hasty in his designs as to regard only the present gratification ; for, had he been cool and politic, and looked far before him, he might, with prudent management of his revenue, have set on foot and maintained a great standing army, and have ruled without ever calling a Parliament. But his present necessities made him condemn all distant prospects ; and, his profuse waste and liberality being gratified, he grew content, and formed no plan dangerous to the liberty of the people, and to the ancient privileges of Parliament.

Had Henry been a man susceptible of prudent counsels, and wishing to see his people happy, easy, and prosperous, he would have preserved these institutions, as being works of more public utility than any other ; and which (together with the colleges founded for teaching those sciences wherein abbeys were defective) were most conducive to public benefit : and the crimes and irregularities charged on them, if they had been even all proved, might have been corrected, and the ancient discipline restored, had they been placed under the inspection of the bishops, and made subject to their visitation. Wherever the rule was strictly observed, they lived within their income, and expended the remainder in a number of beneficial works, which conduced to a common advantage. And they never could have supported a character, for so many ages, for civil advantages, had they not been considered by all former kings (b) and ministers, as public agents in their hands, for public uses ; and as capable of serving their king in numberless occasions : for, the re-

(a) Coke's Instit. vol. IV. p. 44.

(b) The Edwards protected them. See the Appendix.

venues were under a public direction, and the instruments of a public benevolence. The monks, in general, were men without a possibility of converting the estates into a private fortune, living in a denial of all self interests; and whose avarice as well as labour was employed for a community:—men, by whom personal poverty was considered as honour, and implicit obedience was in the place of freedom. These houses might be once the product of enthusiasm; but they had ever been thought, and might now have been employed as, the instruments of wisdom. All this, however, availed nothing. The resentment of the king against the pope, his love of power, and the joint rapine into which he found his Parliament ready to concur with him, tempted them to a confiscation and robbery (a), or, as the church will ever consider it, to a sacrilege, that was never equalled in any Christian country. But so it was, that Providence rendered them blind with selfish passions, and undiscerning of general public views and enlarged prosperities, in order to pave the way for introducing a more pure religion and a more rational worship. ‘He wrought for his name’s sake, and brought much good out of evil, and shewed that the wisdom of man was but foolishness with God.’

But no reformation of religious worship could have taken place, or have gained establishment, if, while Providence was thus raising up instruments in the king and nobles to remove all obstacles, the same good Providence had not, at the same time, inspired a holy zeal for divine truth, and a firm constancy to endure reproach, imprisonment, and death, into the Protestant martyrs: who thereby gave a proof to the world, that their faith had in it truth and reality; and that they had in prospect the permanent blessings of a better world, and the sure favour of a lord and master in Heaven. The wild and boisterous passions of men were made subservient to remove all lets and hindrances; but what brought in and confirmed a true faith and pure worship was the testimony of the saints. The Reformed Church grew out of the virtues, suffering, and death, of good men.

The king, notwithstanding his boasting promises that he should have no occasion to apply to Parliament for succours of money, had yet, between 1535 and this year 1545, convened and asked aid of Parliament three times; and every time met with full allowance to his requests. And these aids, or subsidies, being for two or three

(a) All which, being by some called rapine and sacrilege, I will no way excuse, says Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII.

years, he was every year receiving the usual or greater supplies from Parliament than he had known in the former part of his reign; not to mention a large free gift from the bishops and secular clergy, assembled in convocation, in January 1543, amounting to six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years, and the same now in 1545. Even in the times of Papal supremacy, greater sums were exacted of the clergy, for the king and government, than from the laity; and the situation of the secular clergy, under daily fear of some storm to break over their heads, rendered them as complying as the lay gentry, though from a different motive.

It is natural to ask, in the midst of these usual resources of wealth, what became of that great tide that flowed in from the yearly spoil, which the visitors were remitting to the king's Exchequer? No manifest use did appear; except the founding of six bishoprics, which were endowed with some of the abbey's estates, and lands or tithes: and, whatever changes he made in the chapters of cathedrals, by new endowments, they cost him nothing, and were made out of some confiscated lands or tithes. It was found that the land-rents of the greater abbey, which were 645 in number, amounted to the yearly revenue of 161,000*l.* and probably worth much more; because the abbots, foreseeing a downfall, had taken large fines, and let very long or very cheap leases. There was found also, in the several large houses, at least 100,000*l.* in gold and silver; and the sale of houses, either left standing or demolished, produced a very large but unknown sum; even after the visitors had been paid for their journeys and inquisitorial labours. Certainly nothing appeared like royal munificence,—no great endowments, or gifts to any small one;—no new institution of a liberal kind, either for public or private utility(a);—no sumptuous building, to perpetuate the honour and fame of this self-conceited monarch. Foolish wars, both with France and with Scotland, seem to be the only possible means of employing his parliamentary gifts. There was ostensible proof of a new influx of

(a) It must here be excepted that the two greatest colleges in our universities owe to him great augmentations of their revenue; and by him were founded also the principal professorships in both universities. These appear splendid and liberal, chiefly for this reason, that they are the only marks of that king's bounty; and which he performed from no other motive than lest he should be outdone by a subject: for, the merit of these works is due to Wolsey.

wealth for ten years(a) successively, yet no visible expence. And, what is more extraordinary, in 1544, he caused the Parliament to pass an act(b) for the remission of his debts, contracted with his people by a general loan, exacted upon them; and with a peculiar circumstance in this statute, that those who had already received payment, in the whole or in part, should refund the sums into the exchequer.

The Parliament I have said, in this year 1545, granted the king a subsidy, while the clergy voted him six shillings in the pound for two years; and they thought the two late unsuccessful wars justified these liberalities. But the Parliament, as if fearful of new demands, to enable themselves to discharge the old, intended to save themselves by being extremely liberal of other people's property; and, by one general vote, gave to the king all the revenues of the universities, and of all the chauntries(c), free chapels, and hospitals. A

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(a) In the Bodleian library there is a MS. N^o 3502.12. containing an account of the gold and gilt plate delivered to the king in the 31st year, and signed *Henry Rex* six times.

It specifies the weight of each piece, whether candlesticks, salts, goblets, cruets or cruise; whether cups, images, sconces, bells, basons, and ewers; with expences of trimming and garnishing the jewels and precious stones for the king's use. The amount

In gold plate is	-	-	-	-	575 oz.
In gilt plate	-	-	-	-	5380 oz
Beside in two beryl candlesticks,	-	-	-	-	90 oz.
Other parcel, gilt,	-	-	-	-	2571 oz.
Ditto, ditto,	-	-	-	-	2341 oz.
Ditto, ditto,	-	-	-	-	10869 oz.
In money,	-	-	-	-	23979 l.
For the reception of Anne of Cleves,	-	-	-	-	5000 l.

(b) 35 Henry VIII. chap. I.

(c) Chauntries were small chapels, founded and erected near the body of a parish-church, for prayer and mass; or else some particular altar in a cathedral or parish-church, at which mass was performed for the founder and relations; and an endowment of land made for maintaining one or more priests to perform the said service. These were returned (including the chapels, that were independent of any church, and not comprehended in the episcopal jurisdiction) as amounting in number to 2374; besides 90 colleges; and 110 hospitals. Colleges, except these in the universities, were founded for small fraternities of men living in common, and with a priest for worship; and hospitals were endowments for the infirm, sick, and aged.

Chauntries were established, in the church of St. Paul alone, to the number of forty-seven: and, in the cathedral at York, they amounted to 200 or more; founded at different times by pious persons for saying mass, and other duties of prayer and singing, to be performed by one, two, or more, priests, and at a certain hour of a certain day in every week, or oftener. The endowment consisted of a portion of land: and

concession this which greatly pleased the king ; as it gave him occasion to display his benignity to these ancient seminaries of learning, by sparing them, as he did ; and his power, by seizing and crushing all the latter.

He soon declared to the universities, that he meant not to disturb their possessions, nor violate the venerable institutions and endowments for learning. But, although these chauntries and free-chapels were thus given to the king by act of Parliament, and he had appointed commissioners to take possession of the revenues, yet they had made but small progress in the execution of their office at the time of his death, in January 1547. And the protector, in the Parliament called this summer, thought it necessary to make a renewal of the grant. And the statute promises that these new revenues shall be employed to good and godly uses ; in erecting grammar-schools, in farther augmenting the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy. But, as the courtiers had been accustomed to share the spoil of the regular clergy, they scrupled not to feast their imaginations with the like spoil of the seculars ; nor was it long before it was shared among them ; and very few of those promised provisions were made. This prospect of pillaging the seculars, and which comprehended all the bishops, deans, and chapters, as well as chauntries and free chapels, had caused the act both times to pass the houses of Parliament,

the bishop and chapter, or, in parish-churches, the rector and vicar, was made the trustee for receiving the rent, providing the priest or priests, and defraying the salary to them, and all other expences. This was become a great task in many cathedrals, and a very troublesome duty to the parish-priest ; and created a sort of stewardship, where, in some instances, the agent was a loser ; as in case of repairs and other defaults of rent. By many of them the agent was a gainer ; and the surplus was deemed his reward. So that, with good management, they brought good revenue to the principal church. And it was policy to encourage this species of piety ; for, it shewed a most becoming regard for our departed relations ; and it also found employment for a number of priests. Such a number of attendants on this duty at York filled the church with continual singing ; and it was very difficult so to contrive as to prevent interruption and hinderance. Prior to the Mortmain of Edward III. the founding a chauntry was an easy matter, and frequently done ; but, after that, not without the royal licence. In the 23d of that Edward, Sir John Poultney, knt. and citizen of London, founded a chauntry, and built a small chapel on the North side of St. Paul's for performing the duty ; it was to be done by three priests, and included praying for the king and realm, and the souls of all Christian people : the endowment was his manor, or estate, at Shenley ; and this was valued, at the suppression, at 4 l. 9s. 4d. a year. It is probable this was re-purchased by some of the family and descendants ; for this reason, because the manor of Shenley Bury was in the Poultnays in the time of James I. and until the same was sold to the Crews in 1666. Weaver's Fun. Mon.

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without the least objection: and, how much soever Henry was disposed to favor the Romish religion, yet he had so enriched the leading men in Parliament, that this tended to widen the breach between England and Rome; and to reduce these men to this alternative, either to go on with what they called reforming, or to restore all their estates and wealth, if Popery ever should return. It is easy to guess, which part these men chose: and accordingly, after sharing among them all the chauntry lands, and the estates surrendered under the last act for that purpose, we find that this pious protector (though favorable to a better religion and more pure worship than the church had shewed before), and all his court, and many new lords and gentry, ceased not to pillage the bishops, the chapters of cathedrals, and in short all the seculars of every denomination. No act of Parliament did pass indeed for this special purpose; but this sacrilegious pillage was effected by threats, or by proposals of exchange, or by accusing the possessors of having incurred a *præmunire*. And to this purpose, and the better to cover the enormity of the practice, a new doctrine was spread, though condemned long ago as an heresy, that all the spiritual as well as temporal power, possessed by the churchmen, was derived from the state; that is, that not only their temporal provision and maintenance, but also their spiritual authority to preach the word of God, and dispense the Holy Sacraments, and exercise the functions of Christian worship, were derived and granted from the civil power. But this doctrine, called *Erastian*, had been long ago condemned as heretical and prophane. The estates of the church had used, in all pious estimation, to be considered as the property of Almighty God; and the ministry, the stewards and managers only, for all sacred uses and pious purposes; and the authority of the clergy to preach, dispense the Sacraments, and absolve from sin, as derived from the Saviour of the world, their Master and Lord, who had come from God.

But such an influence followed the practice of the late reign that the courtiers and gentry under Edward would suffer no scruples to check the career of their avarice. And we need only consult two or three pages in the *Monasticon*, to see what defalcations were made from the estates and revenue of the archbishop of Canterbury during this short period. It was a time when pious men submitted to any hardship rather than renounce their faith. Even Somerset himself went great lengths in this sort of traffic, having obtained the houses of three bishops, viz. Landaff, Coventry, and Worcester, and the church

of St. Mary le Strand, with the sites of the same, whereon to build that monument of his fame, called *Somerſet-houſe*; and he carried away, for this purpoſe, the materials of St. John's priory, in Clerkenwell.

This rapine of the church eſtates and tithes alſo went on with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs that we cannot call it a reſumption, becauſe the property did not revert to the heirs of the donors; but it was a ſacrilegious thirſt, in the protector and his friends, to ſwallow down all eccleſiaſtical property: and ſo unſatisfied was this thirſt that, if queen Elizabeth had not paſſed the reſtraining act, nothing would have been left. Theſe acts provided a proper and neceſſary barrier againſt all the long leaſes and alienations which had been made by the clergy, and might ſtill be made, and alſo againſt the depredations and pillaging made by the laity; and theſe acts preſerved the remainder of the church property unalienable and inviolate.

It muſt be remarked, that, when queen Mary was re-eſtabliſhing Popery, the Commons and Gentry conſented to paſs an act for the purpoſe of reſtoring the ancient religion, and to make any conceſſion in favour of Popery; but not until they received repeated aſſurances, both from the pope and from the queen, that the plunder which they had made of the eccleſiaſtics ſhould not be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors (a). But, not truſting altogether to promiſes, the Parliament, in the very act (b) by which they repealed the former ſtatutes, made againſt the Papal authority, took care to inſert a clauſe, (after eſtabliſhing the validity of all marriages during this ſchiſm under Edward, and fixing the right of incumbents in their benefices,) whereby they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtic cenſures. Now, if all extremes may be ſaid to have two ends, it is certain that the zeal of the nobility and gentry for their eſtates and new acquiſitions occupied the firſt end, and their zeal for and againſt Popery occupied only the laſt and leaſt extreme. Mary wiſhed to reſtore this abbey, and offered abbot Boreman a freſh grant to this purpoſe; but ſhe found that the monaſtic buildings were all demolished, the church alienated and demiſed away, and all the grants and alienation of the eſtates ſo confirmed and ſecured by the ſaid act of Parliament (enacting that whoever ſhall diſturb or moleſt any perſons for ſuch lands ſhould incur a præmunire) that ſhe

(a) Heylin, p. 41.

(b) 1 an 20ſ Philip and Mary.

desisted from the attempt; and Boreman, who had made two surrenders, had no opportunity to be replaced, and to traffic any more.

Among the many civil advantages which these religious institutions brought to the public, and many of which I have enumerated, one was, that they found employment for such multitudes of indigent persons, of both sexes; and this advantage was not small, in times when, in towns there were few or no manufactures, and in the country very little agriculture; and for this reason it was worthy the care and duty of all legislators and rulers to uphold these communities, and give them countenance. These were wise appointments then, with regard to the men; but they were quite necessary with regard to the other sex, who, in that poor and destitute condition of society, must have perished in sloth and ignorance, had there been no such places to receive, entertain, and instruct, them. That confined state of life, which was the lot of all the lower females, gave them no opportunity of advancing themselves; and, though it might secure their virtues, it kept them in the meanest and most abject dependence. Hence it was, as Speed saith. (chap. 11), ‘That such a reputed householders was it held in those days, not only to be separated from the accompanying with men, but also to abandon the country of their nativity, and, as strangers in foreign lands, to spend the continuance of their lives.’

But, in noting the advantage of employing a great part of mankind, I would advert also to the nature of their employment: and that was in a solicitous care for the dead. Now here, if the Romish church framed a worship on this subject that led to superstition, and contained many fanciful notions, and if they conducted the same on self-interested motives; the reformer, perhaps, went into the other extreme, and cast off all regard for the dead: whereas, there is a middle way, which, casting aside the superstitions of the Papist, though it may not afford help to the departed, must certainly be an useful lesson to the living; and that is, by anniversaries of holy remembrance of our departed friends, wherein, softened by the recollection of their loss, and warmed by the memory of their piety, we might pray to God, and to our Redeemer, to be merciful and lenient to our failings. This might have been done by the reformers, without falling into the errors and superstitions of the old worship; but they omitted an office for this purpose, and left men to their private prayers on this head, lest they should fall into the error of praying to false mediators.

If it be said this might lead into the ancient superstitions, I think not; and the fault is as great in the reformer by encouraging a total indifference: whereas, a well-composed prayer, aided with a public concurrence, would serve the purpose of a standard, and prevent both extremes.

This laboured concern for the dead had another consequence, that was not only gainful to these houses, but what also kept up their character; and, if new opinions of the dead had not come in, would have maintained them to this day. And this was, that the rich and great were always buried in these churches; and, while the poor revered these houses for their charity, the rich and opulent revered them for their pious care of the dead. The parish-church, with its solitary rector or parson, or more solitary vicar, were little regarded for burial, and its priest thought to have little interest with Heaven. Hence it is, that in no parish-church is to be seen any tomb or monument with an ancient date; none so early as 1400, and very few below that æra. Whereas, Weever (a) (who, besides his own collection, collected the collections of many others made at the Reformation) exhibits dates almost as high as 1300. These were found in the churches of priories; but were demolished at that period, when even monastic brass was a tempting prize.

But, notwithstanding the necessities of the king, and the concurrence of his avaricious courtiers, these causes alone would never have operated with full effect toward the utter suppression of these houses, had not the measure been approved and countenanced by many of the wisest men in the nation, and especially by several of the greatest lawyers. Such men as favoured the new doctrines of religion, and saw the gross superstition and interested motives of the Romish church, were among the first to pull down all the ancient supports of that church. But even many Catholics saw, that the multitudes of poor, fed at the gates of monasteries, ought to be employed; and that the art of making cloth, with our own native wool, was an occupation ready and near at hand: a business this, which they saw to be taken up by numbers of emigrants, who fled from the wars and desolations of Germany. They saw that the monks were easy masters and gentle landlords; and that, by not exerting labour, or shewing any skill or judgement, their lands did not produce so much as they might and ought to do. They were sensible that industry constituted the

(a) Funeral Mon. in Norwich diocese.

riches of a nation; and that, if the Spanish money, now coming into Europe, should find its way into England, the price of every necessary would be doubled, and yet the quantity not increased, nor the quality improved. It was thought also to be contrary to the prosperity of a nation, that so much land as the monks had should lie in Mortmain, and never be passed to another owner. They thought the state of the nation to be stagnant, without that energy and activity which a new circulation of property would give it; and that the religious communities hung like a dead weight, depressing its natural strength and vigour.

These sentiments possessed the minds of the great lawyers, the judges, and officers of the law. More thought thus, when he succeeded Wolsey as chancellor; thus thought Audley, when made speaker of the Commons; and thus thought Rich, when made chancellor of the augmentations; and Pope, and others, who filled up that new court. Hence it was, that such gross invasion of all right and property, and such outrageous insult of justice, went quietly on, without the least contradiction from the lawyers. And, if it be thought the most flagrant ingratitude in the king to prosecute More, and Fisher, and then Cromwell, who had been his most faithful servants, we must resolve this, not merely into the fierce will of the monarch, but into the silent acquiescence of the lawyers; who, though they must condemn the deed, secretly approved every bloody step that led the way to so general a benefit; otherwise they would have saved those honest men, and might have saved their sovereign's honour and character. I am unwilling to impute this tame silence of those able lawyers, then acting and advising, to any other motive: for, I will not suppose they could consent to shed the blood of their brethren, unless they had seen the supposed crimes of those men to be obstructing the great work they had in hand. It may be known from the history of those times, that the Lower House (as then called) did not consist of more than 300 persons(a); and that many of these were lawyers; and many others retainers of the court, though respectable country gentlemen. And Audley, who was made keeper of the Great Seal on the resignation of Sir Thomas More, was chosen speaker also of that Parliament, and continued such during the six years in which it sat. And thus, by this studied conjunction of in-

(a) See Plowden's *Jura Anglicana*.

terest, all the bills for extirpating the pope, and for gratifying the king, were seen to pass without any obstruction.

The conduct of this whole business was in the hands of Audley, Rich, and some others; who, acting an under part, prepared the bills. And in that bill, whereon it was debated to whom the Parliament should assign the abbey-lands, and in which it was determined, that the king, and others under him, should hold them *just in the same manner and as the monks had holden them*; the framers of the bill meant no more than that the king and others should hold them in *Frankalmoigne*, which was a kind of tenure that exempted the holder from suit and service to any superior lord, for, thus the monks had holden them. It would have been better, and more clear, to have said the king shall hold them in *free Socage*. But here lurked a very studied and latent ambiguity; for, it was said that, when these lands were given, the vicars would make claim of the corn-tithes. The proprietors set up a claim to another exemption, namely, from these tithes, and stretched the words to that sense, *to hold the lands discharged of tithes*. Suits were instituted to recover, but the lawyers adhered to the words, and gave judgement in favour of the new lay-proprietor; who now has united the corn-tithe to the rent, and left the vicar as destitute as before, with more duty to be performed, liable to more calls for his charity, and moreover to maintain a wife and family. And thus has it happened, that, in many towns and large villages, the duty is great, and the provision very slender.

But this is not the only instance where a good intention was very much perverted; and where the distant and future good of the nation stopped short, and degenerated into the selfish advantages of the individual. It is to be noted also, that the lands, &c. given to the king, and by him sold or given to others, had been granted *in capite*, and made subject to a certain rent, with relief from the heir. They might have produced a very great annual sum, and yet the courtiers have been gratified: no more supplies might have been wanted, nor even asked: the crown might have displayed great splendor: a good force might have been maintained for the defence of the realm, sufficient provision made for the new church, and universal content diffused through the land. But, amid the craving and contending passions of men, no sober counsels can be heard.

C H A P T E R X.

P A R T I.

O F T H E C E L L S.

IT is proper to be remembered, that all the small religious houses, that is, under 200l. a year, were dissolved by the 27th of Henry VIII. Others of a larger revenue fell in consequence of the act 31st of Henry already noted. But it is well known, that the priories, or cells, though small, yet were much coveted, and soon bought or begged of the king; and, in the steward's account of this abbey's possessions in the crown, in the year 1544, there is not one priory or cell remaining under charge. The reason why they went into lay-hands so soon was, because they afforded a house and dwelling, a better estate than mere landed property.

I will first recite what can be found relating to the foundation and final disposal of the cells belonging to this abbey, and then I will shew what became of the great estates.

BINHAM.

This priory was founded by Peter de Valoignes, the great Norman, who almost succeeded in robbing the abbey of the wood of Northaw, and who lived at Hertingford Bury. This man and his wife Albreda, with the consent of Henry I. and of their own relations, gave and granted to God, St. Mary, and St. Alban, the church of St. Mary at Binham, and all his manor, with the meadows, woods, &c. as free as he had held it of the king; appointing his heirs to be protectors of the said church and town, and no wise wasters or destroyers of the same. He farther granted to the said church, two parts of his tithes at Derfingham and Ingoldsthorpe, and of the manors of Riburg and Snaring, and of nine manors more; this church to be subject to that of St. Alban, paying to the same one mark a year. The abbot of St. Alban is allowed once a year to stay at Binham not above eight days; and with only thirteen horses, unless desired by the prior. These gifts were all confirmed by Roger the son of Valoignes, and by Peter the grandson, and Robert his son; and by the bishop of Norwich.

Of Binham, the last prior, who occurs in 1509, was John Alban; and of any future superiors no account remains.

Sir Henry Spelman says, in his History of Sacrilege, that ‘ this priory was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Paston; who left it to Mr. Edward Paston, his son and heir; who, living about eighty years, continued the possession of it till ———— Caroli R. and having buried his son and heir apparent, left it to his grandchild Mr. Paston, the third owner of it; and therefore now in the wardship of the king. Mr. Edward Paston many years since was desirous to build a mansionhouse upon, or near unto, the priory; and attempting, for that purpose, to clear some of the ground, a piece of wall fell upon a workman, and slew him. Perplexed with this accident in the beginning of the business, he gave it wholly over, and would by no means all his life after be persuaded to re-attempt it; but built his mansionhouse, a very fair one, at Appleton.’ It was valued by the visitors at 161l. 1s. 0d. a year; but at the suppression was found to be only 140l. 5s. 4d. and was said to maintain twelve monks beside the prior.

This priory had the tithes of Ryburgh Parva, now a vicarage in the gift of Sir Edmund Bacon, and the remaining tithes also of Ingoldsthorpe and Derfingham; and to which, when made vicarages, the

the prior presented. He was himself vicar of Binham; and thus united these two contending and rival branches of the church. When a priory was founded and endowed, it was made a joint concern of the neighbouring churches; and, if it could not obtain the tithes, it generally succeeded in obtaining a pension from the rectors. Thus Binham had from the rector of Edgefield 11. 13s. 4d. and from the rector of Sandringham, ol. 6s. 8d. (a).

It hath been an old observation, and with much justice and truth, that these monastic founders always made choice of such places for establishments as were pleasant and fruitful, and commodious for the necessities of life. These places were indeed such as their benefactors were pleased to give, but if in some instances they were at first less remarkable in these qualities, the labour and industry of the brethren in a few years brought them to such improvement. This proves only that monks and priors came into a country which was not wholly occupied, and not yet become very populous; and that, in their professions of religion and more strict holiness, they did not overlook or condemn all the comforts of this world. Place these men of mortification in any situation whatever in England, and they could not long be destitute of any of the substantial necessities, but soon be able to live in a temperate and sparing sufficiency. It is true likewise that the rigor of their rules, and all the austerities of their duty, lay on the ordinary monks, and more ease and freedom was indulged to their governors. But, if we compare the life of these men in England, with descriptions of abbeys abroad, and especially in Spain, we shall see that the former lived in Paradise compared with the latter (b).

HERT-

(a) See more of Binham in Blomfield's Norfolk.

(b) Of this I will quote one instance from Cotton's Life of the Duke D'Espemon, printed 1670.

'From Barcelona,' saith he, 'the duke went to Montserrat, where he continued three days entire at his devotion; not without admiring the excellent œconomy of this abbey, where there are ordinarily above two thousand five-hundred people provided for every day; for which all the provisions, so much as wood and water, must be fetched a great way off upon mules, the rock being so dry and unfruitful as neither to afford the one nor the other of these, much less the other necessities of life. During the duke's abode in this place, those of his followers who were the nimblest of foot had the curiosity to climb the top of the mountain to see the hermitages; which, being thirteen in number, are situated upon the most inaccessible precipices of the rock, and inhabited by so many devout persons, who subsist upon almost no other nourishment than herbs and fruits. Though we met with great difficulty and danger in this attempt, and had very much ado to satisfy our desires, we saw, never-

HERTFORD.

The priory at Hertford I have spoken of before ; and have only to add, that the names of nine only of the priors can be recovered, according to Willis(a), and that the last, Thomas Hampton, was elected in 1514, and was probably the prior who resigned ; for, this being one of the less monasteries was dissolved in the 27th of Henry : and it is likely, that whatever memorials they had, the same perished, or went with the house (b).

It had been founded by Ralph de Limisi, a Norman chief, who came over and settled here, by the allotment of the Conqueror, and was probably a friend as well as countryman of abbot Paul ; and that caused its connection with this mother abbey. It was valued by the visitors at 86l. 14s. 8d. a year ; but was found at the surrender to be only 72l. 14s. 2d. This Limisi had by grant from the Conqueror the manor of Pirton. This priory maintained twelve monks and a prior. Alan, the son of Ralph, gave to it the church and tithes of Tolenton in Warwickshire, and two yard-lands in Ickleford ; and these remained with them till their dissolution. In the twelfth year of Edward II. a great dispute arose between the monks of this cell and the burgeses of the town of Hertford, about right of common. It was agreed that the latter should release all right and claim to the pasture of a meadow,

‘ nevertheless, one of the most unwieldy and unready footed animals, that is to say, a mule, that went twice a week the same way, alone and without being guided, to carry these good people their allowance ; and who could with great security set his four feet in very narrow paths, where we had much ado to dispose of our two ; so great a privilege has custom. But what we thought the most strange of all was to see birds of all sorts, and of those kinds which with us are the most wild and untractable, so familiar with these holy men as to pick meat out of their mouths, and suffer themselves to be handled : living in as great security with them as among us those do of more docile natures, which we have reclaimed and made tame with the greatest diligence and art.

‘ The duke presented the abbey with many rich ornaments ; adding to his presents an alms of 500 crowns of gold, for 3000 masses. The religious governors of this abbey never take any money for their hospitality ; which they in charity bestow upon pilgrims indifferently, of what condition soever, for three days together : but they also never refuse how much soever any one is disposed to give for masses.’ This was in 1622.

(a) History of Abbeys, vol. II. pp. 41 and 127.

(b) Mon. II. 129.

called Wildmarsh, and the monks should grant them common in two moors, called the Holms; and that in all other commonable lands they should pasture together. Three years after the dissolution Henry VIII. granted this priory, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, contiguous thereto, unto Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of his privy chamber: his sons sold it; and, in 1638, it came into the hands of the Harrison family. This priory had a pension of 1l. 6s. 8d. from the rector of Cavendish in Suffolk.

MERGATE, or CADINGTON.

This cell was founded within the parish of Cadington in the county of Bedford, near Merkgate, now called Market-street, by abbot Geoffrey of St. Albans, about the year 1145, by the name of the Holy Trinity *in Bosco*, or in the wood. He built it twice from the very foundations, having enemies who burnt it down on the first building. He erected and endowed it for Christina, who was a woman of family, and her sister nuns there serving God under her rule and government; and gave to this cell two parts of the tithe-corn of the whole parish of Watford. The cell and church being first built within the domains of the church of London, they made a grant of the same to these nuns; and the bishop of Lincoln, named Alexander, dedicated their church. This grant is extant in the Monast. vol. l. p. 350, wherein the church of St. Paul's receives three shillings yearly as a quit rent. It was returned to the Exchequer as valued at 146l. 16s. 1d. but at the suppression at 114l. 16s. 1d. Mr. Willis says, that Joan Zouch was the last prioress; deriving her name probably from a large farm so called in the vicinage. It appears by undoubted records, that this house had the patronage of several vicarages; as in Warwickshire of the following; viz.

Colshill v.

Bignell or Bickenhill v.

Kingsbury or Limsbury v.

Lea Marston c.

Whitacre Inferior c.

And of the following vicarages in Bedfordshire.

Sondon or Stondon v.

Stratley v.

The

The impropriations or great tithes of all these churches belonged also to this house, but most probably were rent from it, long before the time of their visitation. It had also 20s. a year out of the great tithes of Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire. We find not that any of the sisters, or even the head, or prioress, had any pension settled on them, when they were turned out of doors and sent into the wide world. The site and lands were granted, in the 2d of Edward VI. to George Ferrers. Leland in Itin. I. p. 116, thinks it was granted first to lord Berners.

BELVOIR.

This castle and manor was given by William the Conqueror to one of his followers, Robert de Tothenei, who took on him the name of Robert de Belvoir, changing his own name, and giving this place a Norman appellation. He built a church close to the castle, and dedicated it to St. Mary; but, being unable to finish it, he gave it to the abbey of St. Alban, to be dependent on it as a cell, on condition that abbot Paul should finish it, and place there four monks; who should pray for the soul of him, the founder; for those of king William, his wife and family, and all his relations; and that he himself, and his wife, might be enrolled as brethren of St. Alban. He endowed this house with the town of Haringwold, with the towns of Horton, Frantun, Shaperton, and many other parishes adjoining; which, probably, when tillage was little practised or understood, produced very little beside the tithe of wool. William de Albeney his son, who came to this estate and castle, gave the manse that had been his chapel, with houses and land adjoining, and also one sheaf of each sort of grain from every acre of his land at Belvoir, Wulsthorp, Botesford, Orkington, and Stokes. Robert de Toteney also gave it an endowment of fish, from his mill. The possessions of this house were valued by the visitors at the annual rate of 155l. 5s. 10. but found at the suppression to be only 104l. 12s. 10d. The site was granted, in 33 Henry VIII. to the earl of Rutland and Rob. Tirwhit. The earl's family had large possessions near Belvoir, as in Bottesford, Granby, Woolsthorpe, &c. but this was a better situation for a large mansion. The grave of Toteney was opened in 1726 by Dr. Stukeley, and, in 1792, by Mr. Gough and Mr. Nichols, which last hath recorded all the particulars of this place in his History of Leicestershire. See also Dugdale's Baronage.

HAT-

HATFIELD PEVEREL in Essex.

In the Monasticon, vol. I. there is a grant of this Peverel, (who was a Norman chief, and had a gift from the Conqueror at this place) whereby he gives, to the church of St. Mary of Hatfield, his own mansion and all his houses, to build dwellings for the monks whom he intended to place there; with all things given by his predecessors to that church; adding three fields adjoining to the church; and other lands called Hoiwood, Alvelwood, Copingo, and Colingas; and the church of Ayeton and Christesey, with its tithe; and that of Weston. All this, for the souls of king William and king Henry, and his own parents and ancestors.

There is another grant whereby Andrew Nevil resigns all right and title of the church of Assington in Norfolk to the prior and convent of this Hatfield Peverel.

In the 13th of Edward I. when he was trying the titles of the abbots and priors to their estates, and issued *quo warrantos* for that purpose, an inquisition was made at Chelmsford, and decreed, that the advowson of the priory of Hatfield did belong to the abbot of St. Albans; and not to Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Essex, who had obtained the same.

It was valued by the visitors at 83l. 19s. 7d. a year; but at the suppression was worth no more clear than 60l. 14s. 11d.

This priory had the tithes of Acton near Sudbury, and made the vicar, and paid him a pension of 1l. 6s. 8d. It had a prior, and no more than four monks: the site was granted in the 29th of Henry VIII. to Giles Leigh (a).

SOPWELL

was founded by abbot Geoffry about 1140, on his observing two poor women dwelling there in a wretched hut of their own constructing; and living a most austere life on bread and water, and in regular devotion to God. Their piety induced him to build a house for their comfortable living; and to bestow on them some possessions. He appointed also a chapel and a church-yard; ordaining that none should be buried there except the nuns; none to be admitted into the house but maidens; and the number not to exceed thirteen.

(a) See Newcourt's Rept. and Morant's Essex.

Henry de Albini or Albeney, of the house of Todenei, gave to this house two hides of land, with his wife's consent, in their manor of Cotes, in Beaulieu. His son Robert, and his mother Cicely, gave a rood more, in the same manor. Richard de Tany, or Todenei, gave them the land called Black Hides, in Ridge parish.

Abbot Michael, about 1338, ordained certain rules for the regulation of this house, and enjoined a better order and observance than they had before practised. They are as follow: 1. That the commemoration of St. Alban should be kept as usual. 2. That not more than three nuns should sit in the chapter. 3. That silence be observed, as by the rule of St. Benedict, in the church or chapel, in the cloister, in the refectory, and the dormitory. 4. That a little bell do ring in the morning, as notice to rise and appear; and that none leave the dormitory before the bell rings. 5. That the garden-door be not opened (for walking) before the hour of prime, or first hour of devotion; and in summer, that the garden and the parlour doors be not opened until the hour of none (nine) in the morning: and to be always shut when the curfew rings. 6. That no sister hold conversation in the parlour (a) without her cowl on, and her face covered with her veil. 7. That tailors or other artists be persons of good character, but to work in some place assigned them without the monastery; and never to be admitted into chambers or other private places. 8. That, if any sister be under a sentence of penance, this shall not exclude her from the duties of the church. 9. The sick to be kept in the infirmary. 10. No nun to lodge out of the house; and no guest within it. 11. All the sisters to be present at the mass of our Lady.

Their possessions (which have been mentioned before, and in the life of Geoffry) were valued by the visitors at 58l. 8s. od. a year; but afterwards reckoned to be only 40l. 7s. 10d. clear, and this maintained thirteen sisters, a chaplain, and some domestics.

The king, in 1541, granted this house, and the site thereof, to Sir Richard Lee; who, leaving at his death only two daughters, this place came to the eldest, who had married Edwyn Sadleir of Temple Dinsley. His second son Richard dwelt here and had children, and the eldest, by name Robert, at his death left Helen, an only child and heir. This Helen married Thomas Saunders of Beechwood; and, his children dying in their infancy (except one named Anne), he sold this house and land adjacent to Sir Harbottle Grimston, and from him

(a) Conversation was the sole use of the parlour: it was the room of audience, and of address, from *à parler*, and was among the Norman improvements.

it descended to his son Sir Samuel Grimston; and in its later descent it hath accompanied Gorhambury. This Sir Richard Lee was descended from a genteel family in Suffex; where they had flourished in three or four generations. His mother was named Hall, and was the sister's daughter of the famous Edmund Dudley, the extortioner, under Henry VII. Richard was bred to arms; and it is said that he had been, or was, about 1540, captain of the pensioners; and he was probably dwelling at Sopwell, when in 1543 he was commissioned by the king, 'with Antonio de Bergoman, and John Thomas Scala, 'expert Italians in the skill of fortifying, to view the state of Tyne-mouth (a).' On this expedition he accompanied the army into Scotland; and, in the plunder of Edinburgh, he brought away from Holyrood-house a curious font of brass, adorned with figures embossed. He afterward set this font up in the abbey-church. It had on it a proud inscription (b) 'that it had served for the baptizing the king's 'children in Scotland.' But this privilege, though it raised veneration in the minds of the pious, yet could not save it from the rapine of Cromwell's soldiers, after being used in this church about 100 years. Sir Richard had a very handsome wife, (whose maiden name was Margaret Greenfield) and who was in no small favour with the king; and by her solicitations this grant of Sopwell had been obtained; and at the same time a grant to his brother Thomas Lee, of St. Julian's, and some lands belonging to it. He obtained also at that time the grant of the monastery, and the site thereof, with all the ground lying round the church; and in the grant was included the parish church of St. Andrew (c). The king seldom granted a church until he had sold the bells, and stript it of the lead and iron; and in every

(a) See Lodge's Talbot papers, vol. A. f. 247.

(b) See Camden:

(c) It appears not at what time this church was built; but probably it was prior to Offa's foundation of the abbey, or at the beginning of the town, about 100 years after, when the parish of St. Andrew comprehended all the town then erected, and formed the precinct of the abbey. As the town increased, the other churches were built; and as the abbey increased under Paul, it then eclipsed the parish-church; and at the dissolution quite extinguished the name and memory of St. Andrew. This church had no endowment, and depended on offerings and legacies. It was in the patronage of the abbot and chapter, and had a vicar. In the archdeacon's Consistory Court are some volumes of wills as old as 1415, in which may be seen many legacies to the vicar of St. Andrew's; and in the will of one Henry Ferncomb, a brewer of this town, dated 1445, he bequeathed to the vicar of St. Andrew's two quarters of coals (*duas quartaria carbonum*), and to thirty-six poor persons thirty-six quarters. This was meant of charcoal; for sea-coal or pit-coal was not at that time known in this country; and the large black spots in many of the fields indicate the making of charcoal, stocking up the woods and converting the same into fuel.

grant he reserved the bells and lead. But in this case he had reserved the whole abbey-church, and gave Sir Richard only the monastery and site thereof. The grant bears date February 8, 1539-40. This beneficial grant, which was not, like land, fit to return a yearly rent to its owner, was by some considered as a recompence for arrears of pay for Sir Richard's military services; for, he soon began to demolish the monastery and sell the materials. He did the same by St. Andrew's church, and the abbey-church was used as a place of worship; but remained in the crown until the charter of incorporation given in 1553, by Edward VI. at which time the king sold it to the townsmen for 400l. by them paid; and by an article in the charter this bargain is confirmed, and the great abbey-church 'demised to the corporation for their church; and to be by them used, and by them given on a vacancy.' Sir Richard, with the materials, repaired and enlarged Sopwell, and made it his habitation; while his brother Thomas Lee lived at St. Julians. He now also built the wall that enclosed the lands of Sopwell from the London road, and made there a park. An ancient coat of arms cut in stone, and affixed in the garden-wall, might once belong to him or to his son and successor Edwyn Sadleir; for, as the king's arms had of late years been first ordered to be set up in churches, in the room and place of the popes; so many new lords and owners of houses set up their armorial bearings at this time, in token of a new proprietor. The manor of Newland, or Squillers, being parcel of the abbey's late possessions, was granted to Sir Richard at the same time (I think) to be holden by the yearly rent of 5l. 4s. od. This was sold afterward by Sadleir to one Grace, of London, a goldsmith; whose daughter and heir married one Rowbotham; the last of which family died in 1672, and bequeathed some legacies of charity to the minister and to the poor of St. Peter's parish, in which church he is buried. And this estate is since converted to a more noble charity, when it was purchased by the duke of Marlborough, and assigned for the building and endowing the admirable foundation which bears the name of that duke.

I find no other grant made to Sir Richard by Henry VIII. except the manor of Hexton, in the 36th of Henry 1545; but in the 1st year of Edward VI. he received the manor and rectory of Newent, together with a large wood called Yorkledon thereunto belonging, in the county of Gloucester. And in the same year, and perhaps in the same grant, the manor or lands of Beckford in Gloucester, which had been a priory of regular canons of St. Augustine, and founded by Robert Fitz Alan in the 56th of Henry III. and by him endowed with Beckford, Aston, and Grafton; and of late totally suppressed
by

by Henry VIII. Sir Richard lived till 1575, and at his death he left two daughters, but no son. The eldest, named (a) Anne, married Edwyn Sadleir, as before mentioned, the second son of Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Hendon; and the youngest, named Mary, was married first to Sir Humphrey Coningby, and secondly to Mr. Pemberton, of this town. Sir Ralph had bought Temple Dinsley, and there his son Edwyn resided.

When we observe how very soon after the Dissolution this grant was made to Lee, it is more than probable that the Dissolution had been hastened by the very urgent solicitations of Lee, previous to that day; for, in this sort of coin were many of the king's creditors paid, beside those of the military; and in the grants made about this time, we find the grantees to be distinguished by several offices about the court, especially of the household. Lee, whose profession was that of demolishing, was here in his element; and, before the town charter was granted, in 1553, two months before king Edward died, he had pulled down and sold all the materials of the monastery, and all its buildings. In the third and fourth of Queen Mary, she ordered Boreman to purchase the site and the old monastery; and Boreman treated, and the price was settled; but, when she found there was nothing capable of being restored, she relinquished the design; and the site remained among the possessions of Lee, with no more buildings on it than a part of one of the offices, since converted into a dwelling-house; which, together with the site, now belongeth to Mrs. Clark.

On the death of Sir Richard Lee, in 1575, Edwyn Sadleir, who had married the eldest daughter, removed to this place. They had four sons: and this seat, with the lands belonging to it, was settled on Richard, the second son. This Richard married Joyce, the daughter of Robert Honeywood, of Charing in Kent, Esq. and lived at this place, and had ten children. The eldest of these, named Robert, succeeded; and was a captain of militia in this country, and a justice for this liberty about 1660. He left only one child; a daughter, named Helen, and his heirs. She was married to Thomas Saunders, of Beechwood, Esq. who had many children; but all dying in their infancy, except one, named Anne, he sold this house and lands to Sir Harb. Grimston, soon after the Restoration; and the same hath ever since accompanied the descent of Gorham, &c. The

(a) In the chancel of St. Peter's church there is a vault, in which are deposited the bodies of the said Sir Richard, his wife, and his two daughters; as the inscription shews. See Chauncey.

house fell to decay about the time when Saunders sold it, in the reign of Charles II. Among such parts as were then taken down, there were ten large circular medallions of stone, representing some of the Roman emperors, very ancient, and well copied from the best coins of those persons. These were purchased by the lord and owner of Salisbury manor in the parish of Shenley, and by him affixed into the wall of his hall, then building anew; and there still remaining. They represent Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Constantine; and Cleopatra, Faustina, and Zenobia.

They are probably as old as the time of Wheathamstead; and had been cut by the workmen employed in his tomb, or by those who cut and built the rich altar screen in the time of Edward IV (a). But a reader will say, perhaps, with what propriety were these made the ornaments of a nunnery? To this I answer, that the inhabitants wanted not lessons or examples of all the softer virtues, and sober graces of the mind; but they might find an entertainment in contemplating the great and boisterous characters that had appeared in the world, had been the instruments of great events, ruled at the head of mankind, and who had had their full sway in this world; but had failed of that tranquil peace, and serene security, which dwelt within the walls of Sopwell. But, whatever might be their reflections on viewing this assembly of heroes and viragoes, I have no doubt but that most of the ladies who came into this retreat, as we know they were of high rank, so it is probable they had been educated in a knowledge of history, and, like Julia Berners, in many fashionable sciences.

The short time in which the commissioners kept possession at the surrender, we may suppose was fully employed in packing up the valuables and selling the movables. It is probable that here, as in other places, all gold, and silver, and precious stones, if found, were conveyed to the jewel-office; the books to the king's library; and the parchments, containing deeds, grants, chartularies, books of account, &c. to the office of augmentations. Of the first, I fear none is now known, and perhaps no where to be found in its first shape. Of the second (the books) some of them are at this day in

(a) In the church of St. Michael is interred, as the inscription sheweth, Thomas Wolvey, or Wolyen, styled *Latomus in arte*, and squire to the illustrious prince Richard II. and also there is interred Richard Wolvey, his son, styled *Lathonius* or *Latomus*, that is, stonemason. The former died in 1430 and the latter in 1494. These men, probably, were the artists who cut the medallions, built the screen, and set up the tomb of Wheathamstead.

the king's library in the British Museum, among which is the curious copy of M. Paris, written in his own hand. Of the third there exist many of the original charters, which Dugdale hath printed, but very few of the other books, deeds, and documents. I fear they never went so far as to the Augmentation-Office, and served for the secret perusal of the commissioners, who, having learnt from them the names and situations of the respective estates, destroyed the originals as waste and refuse. But of these books there now remains a very beautiful MS. entitled *Registrum de Terris adquisitis, per Joann. Whet. & Tho. Ramryge*, compiled by Blakeney, who was secretary to the latter. It is finely written, beautifully embellished in the initials, and hath been well preserved. It was once the property of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, and is now in the library of the Royal Society of London. The reader will observe I have availed myself of this MS. in the preceding part of the work.

THE PRIORY OF WYMONDHAM

was founded by William de Albinio, or Albeney, cupbearer to Henry I.(a). By his grant it appears, that he gave in pure and perpetual alms, for the soul of himself, his wife, and his relations, all the said church, with all the appurtenances; the tithes, the keeping of the courts, two mills, thirty acres of arable and the pasture adjoining, the woods of Biskelmid, and Southwood, Tysford-park, Wickam, &c. the monks to choose their own prior: the abbot of St. Alban's to be honorably received if he chose to come; and to be paid a mark of silver in token of subjection. By another grant he gives to the prior and monks the manor of Hapsburg. By another grant, Henry III. confirms all these donations; as doth also William, earl of Arundel and Suffex, grandson to the same founder. This priory was afterwards made an abbey by Ogard, then patron; with the consent of Henry VI. and by the bull of pope Nicolas V. In which he charges the bishop of Norwich to take care that no molestation be given to this abbey by the abbot of St. Alban's, or any other person(b). The visitors valued this house at 75l. 5s. 4d. a year; but at the suppression the clear value was found to be 55l. 18s. 0d.

The Albeneyes (or D'Aubignys, in French), who were descended from Todenei, the founder of Belvoir, were great benefactors to this

(a) This was a descendant of Todenei.

(b) This change has been already noticed in John of Wheathamstead's second rule.

priory, and from their estate at Clophill they founded and endowed the little priory of Beaulieu. So that an hereditary love to this abbey long prevailed in that family. In the Museum (a) is a MS. containing all the charters, grants, &c. to this priory, by which it appears, that it had 250 tenants, and not more than one which paid so much as 40s. a year. The rent of the others was accounted in pence, and those in small sums. This priory had the tithes of Wymondham, and the prior was vicar. It had also the tithes of Alton, and of Hapf-burgh, and appointed the vicars. The rectory of Grimston paid to it 40s. yearly.

It was made an abbey about 1448, as above related; granted in the 37th of Henry VIII. to Henry, earl of Surrey, and, in the 5th of Elizabeth to Sir Walter Haddon, for 6l. 9s. 8d. per annum, with several lands, and particularly in Northfield, late in the occupation of William Kett (b).

THE PRIORY OF TINMOUTH

was founded in the time of William Rufus, by Robert de Mombray or Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, in compassion to Oswyn, king of Northumberland, who had been basely murdered by Oswy. Oswyn was the last of the royal family of Deiri; and Oswy mounted the throne of the deceased about 720 (c). The murderers buried the departed king at the oratory of St. Mary, near the mouth of the Tine, where stood the castle of earl Mowbray. In honour, then, of the deceased, he gave lands for the maintenance of monks, whom he brought from the monastery of St. Alban, and made his new foundation dependant on this monastery. William the conqueror confirmed the grant of Mowbray; as did also Henry I. in one charter, mentioning all the tithes of Northumberland as given to this church; and, in another, the keeping of a court by this priory.

This priory was in high repute with David Bruce of Scotland, and king Henry I. King John confirmed to them all their former possessions, which was the town of Tinmouth, and near twenty more towns or villages in that country; and Edward the 3d confirms, by a deed, all their possessions, privileges, and immunities. At the valuation made by the visitors in the 26th of Henry VIII. or 1537, they set its revenue at 397l. 10s. od. yearly.

(a) Cott. MS. Titus, c. 8.

(b) Fee farm rolls in Aug. Offi.

(c) William of Malmesbury, l. 3. Matt. West. p. 118.

The site and most of the lands were granted, 5 Edward VI. to John, duke of Northumberland, who chose his title in imitation of the antient Mowbray. But in nothing else did the comparison or resemblance hold good; for, the latter ended his life in piety and humility in this abbey; and the former, through excess of pride, ambition, and sudden elevation to great fortune, died on the scaffold. These lands reverted to the crown; and there remained until 1574, when the title of Northumberland was revived in the Percy family; to whom they were then given.

The rectory, and all tithes belonging to the church of Tinmouth, were granted in 30 Elizabeth to Edmund Downing and Miles Dodding, their heirs and assigns for ever, together with the patronage of the vicarage; paying to the queen and her successors 115l. yearly, and 30l. a year to the vicar (a).

WALLINGFORD.

This priory had been founded by abbot Paul; who is said to have repaired the dwellings, built a small church, and to have established there a prior and certain monks from the great abbey of St. Alban. All this was done by the bounty and munificence of that Norman chief, Robert D'Oiley; to whom the Conqueror gave a large tract of country (b) in the North of Oxfordshire; the town or city of Oxford, and the castle of Wallingford. This chieftain paid due regard to the security of the places under his care; for, he built the castle at Oxford, enclosed the city with walls, still to be seen, and made the causeway from that place towards Abington two miles in length, over low grounds. Wallingford had, before the time of D'Oiley, been a considerable place; having in it 276 houses in the days of the Confessor. The lord of this place, at William's conquest, was Wigod a Saxon, whose only daughter was given in marriage to D'Oiley. And, on this close connection with Wallingford, he repaired and augmented the works of the castle; pulling down eight houses for its enlargement (c). And William Gemeticensis remarks, that, on the defeat of Harold, the

(a) Fee-farm Rolls in Augmentation-Office.

(b) Called *Huiccia*, in the Latin *Inquis*, i. e. Hokenorton.

(c) So says Doomday Book.

Conqueror marched his army to this place, before he advanced nearer to London.

As it was a custom with the gentry and lords to build churches and establish a body of monkish clergy near their castle or mansion; so this was practised here by D'Oiley; and his countryman Paul aided the pious work by sending monks, gaining thereby the dependance of this small priory to the abbey. The church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; and D'Oiley granted them only half a hide of land without the city, for an endowment. Richard the II^d. gave to these monks the rectory and church of Gassington in Oxfordshire, and the grant appears in volume I. of Dug. Mon. This is now a living in the patronage of Trinity College, Oxford. Henry VII. gave these monks a grant of 8l. a year to be paid by the town of Wallingford; and also the appropriation and advowson of the church of Chinor, in the county of Oxford.

Willis, in his Mitred Abbeyes, has given the names of twenty priors, from 1195 to 1515, in which year the last prior, John Clare, was appointed.

This priory, and also the hospital of St. Mary Pree, were dissolved by Woolsey; and are in the number of these small endowments to the number of 40, which he procured by a grant from the pope, about 1526, for abolishing, and adding their rents to the endowments of his new college at Oxford. They all fell into the king's hands, when Woolsey was attainted; and this made no part of the king's new endowment of that great foundation. Its being dissolved so early is the reason why we find it not in the valuation made by the visitors about 1535 and 36. This cell was granted in 38 Henry VIII. to John Norris.

ST. MARY DE PREE

Was an hospital founded by Warren, when abbot, for the reception of leprous women, who subsisted on small allowances from the abbey; but, becoming more numerous, they procured a small church to be built for devotion, and a church-yard for interments, and had offices on both sides of the way. In length of time, they had, by donation from some unknown benefactor, the tithes of Wing, in Bucks, now a small vicarage. They had also 10s. pension from the tithes of Filgrave. And the munificent duke Humphry gave them
the

the rectory and vicarage of Tenby in the county of Pembroke. Henry VIII. in his 32d year, granted the hospital and site to Ralph Rowlat, Esq. together with Gorham, Westwic, Newnham, Sandridge, Caldecot, Radwell, &c.

ST. JULIAN'S.

This was an hospital for wretched lepers, and subsisted at first by gifts and doles from the abbey's steward. At length, some kind benefactor gave them the propriety, that is the great tithes, of Henlow in Bedfordshire, now a small vicarage. Being an hospital, it was valued with the abbey; and fell with it. Among the first grants made to it was that of a penny per day from the Exchequer by Henry II. The house and site were granted, in the year 1541, to Sir Richard Lee, knt. for his brother Thomas Lee. At his death, Thomas Lee left only four daughters, and no son: and then St. Julian's was sold to Everard Digby; and from his family it passed to one Ellis, a draper in London, who rebuilt the house in Charles the 11d's time. His son sold it to admiral Killigrew in 1693. From him it came to the Cooks and the Barkers, and now is vested in Arnot Howard, gent. (a).

BEAU-

(a) Rental of the hospital of St. Julian, on the feast of St. Michael, 1507, 22 Henry VII. Thomas Ramryge abbot.

Of Mr. Robert Torberville, for house there and lands, and for tithes of the said house or hospital, in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Stephen, to him let to farm,	1.	s.	d.
From the steward of the kitchen in the abbey, a portion of tithes in Walden abbots, and Aston abbots,	30	0	0
From the under-steward the tithes of the town of St. Alban, belonging to the said hospital,	1	0	0
Rent of lands in Sarrat, but belonging to this hospital,	3	0	0
From the sheriff of Hertford, the king's alms, as granted formerly,	0	13	4
From the prior and convent of Newnham, near Bedford, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital in Stamford,	1	10	5
From the abbess and convent of Elstow, a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital in the parish of Flete,	0	13	4
From the abbot and convent of Warden, in Bedfordshire, the rent of one virgate (rood) of land holden in this hospital,	2	6	8
From the rector of Estwyk, in Bedfordshire, for a portion of tithes held in that parish, but given to this hospital,	0	1	0
From the prior and convent of Lanthony, near Gloucester, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hospital, in the parish of Henlow, in Bedfordshire,	0	10	0
	0	16	0

Qq q 2

From

BEAULIEU.

Of this cell I have spoken before, when I recounted the several cells in the days of their general prosperity. It was a place in Bedfordshire, and received its name, being Norman, and also its establishment, from Robert Albeney, a relation to the founder of Wymondham priory. And probably this was done about the time of abbot Paul, and by a fellow Norman. The place was before called Moddry, had a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and had been founded as an hermitage by one Ralph. It was now given, with all its appurtenances, by Robert Albeney to the honour of God and St. Alban; and replenished with monks from the great abbey. Robert endowed it with the mill of Turhall or Turville, the church of Melbrock, the church of Rhinthall and that of Clophill; ten acres of land at Stephall, the wood of Hasildon, the lordships of Walkegge and of Cotes, and other lands: as his two grants, still extant in the Monasticon, vol. I. do testify. This place was situate in Clophill parish. See more of it in the life of Wheathampstead, who relinquished the cell. And the site, together with its neighbouring lands, are now comprehended in the Kent estate, with Wreft, &c. belonging to the lady Grey, but from its name is probably a beautiful situation. Leland says, that one of the monks, having killed a butcher, they were all obliged to quit this place.

From the prioress and convent of the Trinity de Bosco, near Merkyate, for a portion of tithes in Stretley,	0 10 0
From the prioress and convent of Sopwell, for a portion of tithes held by them in Codicote,	0 6 8
From William Fletcher, the rent of one croft in the parish of St. Stephen,	0 2 6
From the heirs of Robert Newberry, for the rent of an inn called the Peacock, in the town of St. Alban,	0 8 0
From Thomas Porter, rent of one tenement in the street of St. Peter,	0 10 1
	<hr/>
	41 8 0

Ad finem Cot. MS. Claud. D. 1.

P A R T II.

OF THE ABBEY'S ESTATES.

The possessions of the abbey at the time of the dissolution cannot be ascertained or known, farther than by the grants or donations made of them after. The same may be said of their spiritual estates. The monks were proprietors of Wingrave, and of Turville in Bucks, and of abbeys Aston and Winslow, in the same county, with its chapel; of Harewood Parva, and Granborough; of Luton, in Bedfordshire, and of Great Gaddestden. But, as they were always receiving, so were they often losing by the very insecure nature of all titles in those days, especially in such estate as was given to the church in frank-almoigne, owing to the feudal tenures; for, in these cases, the next heir would often re-enter and dispossess the donee; and the king allowed such intrusion, that he might not lose his privileges and services. The same reasons held good with all the lords and gentry, who let out demesnes to under-tenants. The feudal laws, which then formed the constitution of the kingdom, afforded them a plea, or at least a pretence, for revoking gifts, grants, and even the sale of lands; though, properly speaking, there could be no sale, or alienation by purchase, with such good assurance in law as is practised in these days. The heir was in those times more the darling of the law than at present; and all gifts and grants were easily set aside by him, under pretence that he was in danger of losing his suit and service, and that the kingdom was deprived of the military duty, owing from the estate in question. Hence it was, that grants, to the religious especially, were signed and confirmed by the son and wife of the donor, to prevent a forfeiture on their part, or resumption on the lords. In short, even grants from the crown were only for the life of the donor; and the next successor would resume the gift, unless he could be prevailed on to confirm the former grant. And this is the reason why gifts and donations are so often confirmed. It was necessary, even with Magna Charta.

In

In speaking of the cell of Sopwell I have mentioned the grant of the site of the abbey, and the gardens, and the ground adjoining. The next grant which was made of the abbey's estates was to Ralph Rowlat, and this was on May 12, 1541. This gentleman's family had been long settled at Holywell; and lived sometimes at Byflmead in Bedfordshire, where they had been lessees of the manor and rectory, under this abbey, to which the said manor and rectory had been granted in 1341. At the dissolution, this Rowlat purchased that manor and rectory in 1540. His son Ralph Rowlat was knighted in 1543, and had married Dorothy, the daughter of John Devenish, Esq. of Weston; but died without issue in his father's lifetime (a). In the South aisle of the abbey church, near the entrance into the choir, lies a flat stone, now much decayed and worn, and without any date or inscription. This is said to be laid over their grave. But Weever, in his *Fun. Mon.* printed in 1631, saith, this inscription is over the Rowlats: 'Here lieth Raph Rowlat, citizen of London, merchant of the Staple, and Joan his wife; which Raph died 1519.' This was the father of the grantee, and the present defaced stone had this inscription. In this 32d year of Henry VIII. viz. 1541, he obtained that large grant which comprehended a very splendid portion of the late abbey's estates; viz. Gorham, Westwick, Pree, Sandridge, Newnham, Caldecot, Radwell, and Apfa, or Napsbury. These possessions raised him to a conspicuous point of view, and the next year he was made sheriff for this county. In the first year of king Edward, 1548, he served in Parliament for this county, with Edward Denny, Esq. and was made sheriff again in the first of Elizabeth, 1559.

His son dying without issue, and in his father's life-time, the daughters were coheirs; and only two, viz. Mary, (though in the epitaph (b) called Margery, late wife of John Maynard, Esq.) and Elizabeth. Maynard's wife died without children, and he sold Gorham, and the lands which were his portion, to Nicolas Bacon, about 1550, or soon after. Elizabeth was married to Ralph Jennings, Esq. of Church, in the county of Somerset; and, on the partition of the estates, the manor of Sandridge, together with Holywell, went to this Jennings; and his descendants enjoyed the same until these estates came to three coheirs; the youngest of whom, named Sarah, purchased the shares of the other two; and, having married John lord

(a) Mon. III. 97.

(b) Near to Rowlat's stone.

Churchill, became duchefs of Marlborough; a lady, not only eminent for her high rank, but conspicuous for thofe talents and fplendid virtues that farther adorn and dignify high rank and great fortune.

John Maynard, and feveral of his family, are interred near Rowlat's ftone; and of this family was defcended the famous Serjeant Maynard, and alfo the prefent peer of this name. Nicolas Bacon probably came to live at Gorham, in the reign of Edward VI. or earlier. becaufe he obtained the charter of incorporation in 1553, on feeing all rule and authority in the town quite overthrown with the fall of the abbot. He found at Gorham a ftately houfe, and fuitable to his rank, of great age, and perhaps built when abbot Robert firft granted thefe lands to his kinfman, from Gorham in Normandy; but certainly a houfe worthy of a countefs of Oxford, who dwelt here in the time of Thomas de la Mare. It feems to have inclofed three fides of a fquare; and Sir Nicolas, (for, he was knighted, and made lord keeper in 1558,) in order to entertain the queen, built a handsome gallery on the Weft fide, projecting from the houfe: and here the queen often made her refidence, and dated many ftate papers at this houfe: this gallery was ftanding, with all its original furniture, &c. until the demolition of the old houfe, about ten years fince; and exhibited a very curious fpecimen of the ancient grandeur(a). Sir Nicolas was of Norfolk, and bred up in Bennet College, Cambridge: he then came to one of the inns of court; and, having been noticed by Audley, he was made attorney general to the Augmentation-Office, in 1536, when Pope was made treafurer. This laid the foundation of a firm friendship between them, and gave them opportunities of affifting each other in making good purchafes. Pope procured Tyttenhangre in 1547, and lived there till his death, in 1579.

Westwick, which formerly was the moft confiderable of the two places, had ever accompanied Gorham, and was included in this grant. It is now only a barn.

Prece, being in the crown, ever fince the attaind and forfeiture of Woolfey, was now granted with Gorham; as lying contiguous to thofe lands. The old chapel is now a barn; and the burial-ground a farm-yard.

(a) This houfe is faid to have been built by Sir Nicolas; but it was certainly much more ancient than his time; for, on demolifhing the fame, a few years fince, it appeared that the walls had been built in chert-work, long before the invention of brick or regular building with ftone. In the Afhmole Mufeum, Oxford, in Aubrey's MS. lives, is a particular defcription of it, in the time of James I.

Newnham

Newnham fell to one of the coheirs of Rowlat; and her husband sold it to Richard Hole, of London, grocer. It went from him to a family named Dyer, and thence to Mr. Hutton; and has now descended to Philip York, Esq. of Denbighshire.

Coldeccot was part of Maynard's portion; and, in the fourth of Philip and Mary, he sold it to one Sapcote, who sold it again to Richard Hale, abovementioned; and in that family it rests.

Radwell. The coheirs of Rowlat, sold this to one Parker, and from him it hath come through several hands to a family named Pym.

The manor of *Apsa*, or *Napfbury*, was sold also by the coheirs to one Marston; from him it came to the Buccoes, who lived at Colney; and one of whom, William Biscoe, was, in 1700, a justice of the peace for this county. From him it hath come to the Gees.

Northaugh was granted, in 1541, to William Cavendish, the attendant and gentleman usher of cardinal Woolsey. This place, when given by Lanfranc to the abbey, in the time of William the Conqueror, was waste ground, called *Sylva et Nemus Northagæ*; and is not valued or mentioned in Doomesday, a sure sign of its being worth very little. It appears not what rent it ever paid to the abbey. William Cavendish held it under the title of Northaugh, Nynne, and Cuffely; and, in the time of Edward VI. paid rent to the crown of 3l. 12s. 2d. He conveyed it to Sir Ambrose Dudley, the son of duke Dudley, and brother to John, earl of Leicester. This man built a very stately house called Nynhall, situated in the Bottom, and adorned with handsome gardens and woods; but all demolished in the last twenty years. From him it came into the possessions of lord Russell of Thornhaugh, and then to Richard Sidley, who, in 1626, was appointed sheriff of this county. From him it came to William Lemon, Esq. and from that family to William Strode, Esq.

At the first erection of a church at this place, which probably was by Lanfranc, when the conqueror gave him this wild and rude spot of waste land, then beginning to be cultivated, the said church was put under the care of St. Peter's vicar, and reckoned a chapel belonging to St. Peter's. But, when granted to Cavendish, it obtained the privileges of a donative, and now differs little from a private chapel of the lords.

The manor of *Oxy*, with *Willinghall* was granted about the same time to one Jolkyns; and he sold it to Heyden, whose ancient residence was the Grove. This man sold it to Sir James Altham, whose heiress, marrying John lord Vaughan, earl of Carberry, conveyed
the

the manor to her husband; and he sold it to Sir William Bucknall, who was knighted in 1670, made alderman of the city of London, and erected a handsome seat at this place.

Brantfield was granted, in 1541 or 2, to G. Dacres, Esq. and from him it descended, by purchase, to three or four others, till, in the 37th of Elizabeth, it came to Sir Henry Boteler; and when, through default of heirs male, it came to six coheirs, George Villers, viscount Grandison of Ireland, purchased the interest of five, and was lord hereof in 1700.

Before I relate more of the grants made of the abbey's estates, I will point out the possessions, rents, and revenues, as they appeared in 1545, in the steward's accounts (a).

Account of the lands and possessions of the late monastery of St. Alban, in the county of Herts, in 1544. Thomas Maydwell, bailiff of our lord the king at that place, and during that time.

		l.	s.	d.
	In the town, rent of free tenants, ———	13	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	———— by lands and tenements, —	33	1	4
	Divers pensions and portions of tithe in the town, —	9	3	4
	Clerk of the market, paid, ———	13	13	4
	Other lands and tenements within the town, belonging to the late office of sub-cellarer, —	18	16	0
	Rents of assize to ditto, ———	0	16	8
	Customary tenants of Parke to ditto, —	8	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	———— in Tittenhangre, —	4	13	4
<i>Burston.</i>	Thomas Maydwell, bailiff.			
	Free rents, ———	2	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Customary ditto, ———	8	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	The manor, by John Kynge, farmer, —	6	6	8
<i>Hexton.</i>	Free rents, ———	0	4	3
	Customary ditto, ———	16	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Changeable rents, ———	0	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	The rectory worth <i>per annum</i> , —	12	0	0
	The manor, ———	7	16	8
	For a water-mill, ———	2	6	8
	Portion of tithes extinguished by the dissolution, —	0	0	0
	By lease of lands to Agnes Goldsmith, —	7	6	8

(a) Augmentation-Office in Hert. Rot.

R r r

Paid

	l.	s.	d.
Paid to the vicar of Hexton, —	1	6	8
Priory of <i>Pray</i> , (Pre), before it was granted, Adam Pccock collector of the rents.			
In rent of houses belonging to this hospital,	22	17	8
By free rents within the town,	0	5	4
By lands leased in Kyngsbury,	6	6	8
Deduct as allowed, 1 8 8			
———— for repairs, 2 13 6			
The late office of Coquinar, Henry Audley Collector,			
By free rents within the town,	8	17	2
By lands and tenements without,	24	6	8
Rent of free tenants in St. Stephen's,	1	0	11
Rent of lands and tenements in St. Michael,	0	6	2
Land let in St. Michael, —	0	5	0
By Kychenors, a manor in Barnet,	0	3	1
———— by customary tenants,	0	8	9
In Parke manor, by tenants free and customary,	1	13	6
To the late office of sacrist, Christopher Plough, collector.			
Rent of free tenants in the town, —	1	13	10
Lands and tenements in the town leased,	8	16	4
At Rydon or Roydon, rent of a croft,	0	1	0
———— free rents there,	0	10	0
At Kympton, free rents, —	0	13	4
At <i>Chalfound</i> and <i>Hamsstead</i> (<i>Chenies</i>) (a) by rent from the manors, paid by John lord Ruffel,	2	0	0
Demefine lands. From Sir Francis Bryan, lessee, for fundry portions of lands and tithes,	71	7	8

(a) Chenies estate now came to the Ruffel family, from a marriage of this lord Ruffel with the heiress of the lord Chenies (See Dugdale Baron.). This is still among the Ruffel estates, and here is their burial-place. It was that Lord's principal seat, and here was he interred.

		l.	s.	d.
<i>St. Andrew's chapel.</i>				
By oblations, &c. clear of charges in the service,		12	15	4
<i>Kyngsbury-manor.</i>				
By free tenants, — — —		0	10	8
By customary tenants, — — —		18	2	4
By tenants at will, — — —		0	7	8
By lands leased <i>per</i> indenture, — — —		9	3	8
From which a pension to the vicar of 1l.				
Office of archdeacon. No rents or profits due to the king after the expences of the archdeacon were discharged.				
<i>Newland and Squillers manors.</i>				
Rent of manor, &c. — — —		28	4	4
<i>Kyngsbury manor.</i>				
John Cox, farmer, — — —		20	0	0
Tithe, Thomas Blacket, farmer, — — —		4	6	8
<i>Parke manor.</i>				
Thomas Maydwell, receiver.				
By portions of tithes, lands, &c.		120	7	8
<i>Parke Bury manor.</i>				
Robert Brennyng, farmer, — — —		24	13	4
<i>Parke Mille and More Mill.</i>				
John Redwood, farmer, — — —		8	13	4
<i>Cowley mill and Stanford mill.</i>				
Thomas Bagham, farmer, — — —		4	0	0
<i>Eyewood.</i>				
William Bailey, — — —		7	13	4
<i>Sopwell mill, in Parke.</i>				
John Murfin, occupier, — — —		13	0	0
<i>Beach Grange in Parke.</i>				
John Foster, farmer, — — —		11	0	0
<i>Merdon manor and tithes.</i>				
Thomas Maydwell, — — —		7	0	0
<i>Tytenhangre manor and tithes.</i>				
Thomas Maydwell, — — —		38	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Rudgell or Rydge.</i>				
Coney Warren, with herbage and Pannage, John Bolleman, — — —		34	13	4
R r r 2				San-

			l.	s.	d.
<i>Sandridge-rectory and Grange of St. Peter.</i>					
Thomas Shipwith, farmer,	—		30	0	0
<i>Rikmersworth manor. Hutchinson Bailiff.</i>					
In Pinesfield,	—	—	7	0	0
Received of the vicar of Rikmersworth,			5	6	8
Free rents,	—	—	0	4	2
Customary rents,	—	—	43	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rents for capons and hens,	—	—	0	3	4
— from West mill,	—	—	3	6	8
Perquisites of courts,	—	—	1	7	10
<i>Rikmersworth rectory.</i>					
Henry Gunne, farmer,	—		27	0	0
N. B. At this time only two manors					
remained in this parish, the					
others had been granted.					
<i>North Haugh.</i>					
Manor contains Cuffley, with the manor					
of Childwick, and a farm called Ma-					
riston, in Tewinge, granted to Wil-					
lian Cavendish, in the 31st of Henry,					
and therefore owes,			0	0	0
<i>Barnet and East Barnet manor.</i>					
John Coningsby, Esq. bailiff.					
By free tenants,	—	—	0	9	10
By custom,	—	—	42	7	3
By tenants at will,	—	—	0	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
By lands let,	—	—	5	2	5
By two groves called Monk Frith,			3	0	0
By a grove called Sun's Grove,	—		4	9	8
<i>Abbot's Walden manor.</i>					
John Mitchel, bailiff.					
By a capital messuage called Legates,					
otherwise Howenden, let to Richard					
Hill, Esq. the whole rent,			40	10	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Rectory of abbot's Walden,	—		19	0	0
<i>Codicote manor.</i>					
John Mitchel, bailiff,	—		34	14	6
<i>Gaisbo manor and Watford.</i>					
John lord Ruffel, great admiral of Eng-					
land, bailiff.					

	l.	s.	d.
By free tenants, — —	14	9	2
— custom, — —	41	11	6½
— tenants at will, — —	0	15	4
Lands-parcel of the rectory of Watford,	0	7	9
Rent in corn, viz. oats, one quarter,	0	1	6
Manor of Calishe, let to William Daun- cey, Esq.	14	2	0
Harwood's, a messuage in Watford, let to Roger Weedon,	8	13	4
The ley in Watford, — —	3	0	0
Water-mill, with the toll, —	13	0	0
Rectory of Watford, — —	18	13	4
Belonging to Merkyate, viz. two parts in ten, — —	0	0	0
Portions of tithe in Watford, —	11	2	0
Perquisites of courts, — —	1	13	6

Croxley manor.

By tenants free and customary, and the manor of Croxley and Snellshall,	22	15	5
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Abbots Langley manor.

By tenants free and customary, —	62	15	11½
Rectory granted to William Hipgrave in fee, — —	0	0	0

Sarret manor.

William Hipgrave, bailiff. Including Newhall in Watford,	13	3	4½
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Sopwell Bury.

Granted to Sir Richard Lee, on Febru-
ary 8, 1540.

Manor of Newland.

John Lyon, lessee, — —	7	15	0
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*Rectory in St. Stephen.**Manors of Newnham, Radwell, and Caldecot.*

Granted to Rowlett, 1541, with the
tithes of Newnham.

Manor of Brantfield. Granted to Robett Davers, Esq.*Manor of Wiggenhall, with Oxe.*

Granted to James Joskyn.

Manor of Norton and rectory.

John Bowles, lessee, — —	57	4	0
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Manor

291.2

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Manor of Garston.</i>			
By free tenants, — — —	1	16	7
Custom, — — —	0	2	8
Manor, — — —	12	0	0
<i>Lordship of Redborn.</i>			
Edward Abraham, bailiff, with por- tions of tithes, — — —	63	5	8
<i>Manor of Redborn.</i>			
Henry Beech, lessee, — — —	15	6	8
<i>Rectory of Redborn.</i> — — —	20	0	0
<i>Manor of Aygnells.</i>			
John Michel, bailiff, — — —	4	13	5½
<i>Site of the priory of Redborn, with the manor of the priory.</i>			
Granted to John Cocks.			
<i>Manor of Westwick and Gorham.</i>			
Granted to Rowlat 1541			
<i>Shepeball.</i>			
Lands and tenements, — — —	9	9	0
Richard Hodges, bailiff.			
Manor granted to George Nodes 1544.			
<i>Manor of Wallington.</i>			
Granted to John Shewster, and Eli- zabeth his wife in, 1541.			
<i>Bygrave.</i>			
Lands called Monk lands, containing 500 acres. Bowles, farmer,	4	0	0
<i>Hospital of St. Julian.</i>			
Richard Aley, lessee, — — —	30	0	0
<i>Manor of Winslow.</i>			
Granted to Richard Brome, Esq. worth	65	7	1½
Rectory worth, — — —	14	0	6
<i>Turfeld in Bucks,</i>			
John Royston, occupier.			
The manor and rectory.	3	6	8
<i>Rectory of Wingrave.</i>			
Thomas Duncomb, lessee, — — —	17	0	0
<i>Manor of Abbots Astton and Rectory.</i>			
Granted 1541 to lord Ruffel.			
<i>Manor of Luton with the tithes of Luton and Chartey,</i>	100	2	0
John Minty, bailiff.			

		l.	s.	d.
<i>Manor of Dellow in Luton.</i>				
Thomas Dormer, lessee,	—	10	0	0
<i>Rectory of Dunstable Houghton.</i>				
George Cavendish, farmer,	—	41	0	0
<i>Tenements in London.</i>				
Robert Brand, collector,	—	28	6	8
<i>Appleton in Rydale rectory.</i>				
Richard Reafon, farmer,	—	22	0	0
<i>Manor of Norton in Luton,</i>	—	11	0	0
<i>Rectory of Concliffe in Durham.</i>				
Anthony Horn, farmer,	—	22	6	8
<i>Rectory of Elyham or Æglingham,</i>	—	25	0	0
<i>Rectory of Hertburn,</i>	—	10	6	8
<i>Rectory of Eversden Magna.</i>				
John Lete Farmer,	—	11	6	8
<i>Rectory of Aston Rowant, with Stoken church.</i>				
Bart. Pigot, farmer,	—	20	0	0
<i>Manor of Combe in Suffex.</i>				
Granted to Andrew lord Windsor, for-				
merly paid,		8	0	0
<i>Corn-tithes in the parish of All Saints, in Sudbury.</i>				
Thomas Martyn Ferworth,	—	3	6	8.
With many small rents issuing from lands				
and tenements situate in distant parishes.				
<i>Talington manor and rectory.</i>				
William Chychen, bailiff.	—	23	2	9½
<i>Manor and rectory of Horningold.</i>				
Anthony Brewell, bailiff,	—	27	12	10
<i>Priory of Belvoir.</i>				
From lands and tithes,	—	87	10	2
<i>Monktown, or Tenby, in Pembrokehire.</i>				
John Vaughan, farmer,	—	60	0	0
<i>Wyng rectory.</i>				
Sir Robert Dormer, lessee,	—	18	13	4

If

429. 5. 5. 4
 360 4. 4. 4
 291 2. 3
 265 12. 4
 362 10. 5
 181 12. 4
 164 5. 1. 2
 2026. 16. 1. 7

If it be asked what remuneration was given to those men who had devised this scheme, and carried it on through Parliament during six or seven years, I will give an instance or two of the king's munificence to two of the principal characters, and most earnest promoters of the work. I have already noted the great prosperity which attended Sir William Pawlet; and I will now shew the advancement of Sir John Ruffel. It is unnecessary to say how attentive he was to the court, and to the measures there contrived; but, soon after the Great Dissolution, he had conferred on him four of the greatest abbeys which fell to the king: namely, Tavistoke in Devon, valued at 902l. yearly rent; Croyland at 1803l.; Thorney at 411l.; and Woburn at 391l. He had a large accession by his marriage. In 1539 he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of lord Ruffel; Baron of Tavistoke and Thornaugh, (a new estate in the county of Northampton); then made lord president of the council by Henry VIII. and lord admiral, and created earl of Bedford by Edward. He died in 1554.

The estates of Thorney, lying in the Fen's of Ely, his grandson Francis, in the time of James I. and Charles, attempted great improvements by draining them. In this work he was aided by the advice and opinion of the great Dugdale; and he succeeded, though at much present expence, in reclaiming large tracts of land from the waters. Hence is it, that we see in the maps of that country the appellation of Bedford prefixed to drains, rivers, lands, and levels.

Had this vast accumulation of wealth been administered with discretion and prudence, it might have added to the splendor of the throne, and to the external defence of the kingdom; but, as it was, though much was granted, or sold, to satisfy the just claims of the officers about the court, some squandered in gaming, and more given in a capricious generosity; yet this general dispersion spread a sudden prosperity over the country. It gave rise to a new set of nobles and gentry; many of whom flourish at this day, with increased fame and honours.

This great event so luckily coincided with the revival of learning in Italy that it gave rise to a new system of genteel education, and so well with the troubles and persecutions abroad that we may thence date the beginning of our woollen manufacture. There is scarce an ancient mansion now belonging to our gentry, which was not a religious house before the dissolution, or hath been built in the site of one since. Nor is it any prophanation to promote chearful mirth and

and good humour in that hall, where once reigned nought but gloomy silence and painful austerity.

The next person whom I shall note, as partaking largely of the king's munificence, was Sir Thomas Audley.

In the 24th year of Henry, being the year 1533, and on February 24, there was surrendered the priory of the Holy Trinity, situate without Aldgate, and the most considerable foundation of the religious sort in London; founded by Henry I. and largely endowed. The surrender was gained by flatteries to the prior; for, this was three years before the act passed for dissolving the smaller houses. The same was instantly given to Sir Thomas Audley, who had been speaker of the Parliament against Woolsey in 1529 and 30, as may be seen in Hall. I have remarked that Audley was made keeper of the great seal, and chancellor, in 1532; and, wanting a fine house in London, or having determined to shew the king how to deal with the adherents of Rome, he advised and accomplished this surrender. The canons being sent to other houses, the whole buildings were given to Audley, but with what estates it appears not. He demolished the church, &c. erected a new and spacious house, and dwelt there until his death in 1544. This place then came to the duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, who had married Audley's eldest daughter. Here the duke lived until his death in 1554, and the mansion was called Duke's Place.

A grave hath lately been discovered in the church of St. John, in the city of Norwich, and thought to contain the reliëts of that lady, or of her younger sister Mary, who died young and unmarried. The duchess was named Margaret, and had been married first to Henry, the youngest son of John Dudley (duke of Northumberland) who had been slain at the fight of St. Quintin.

She bore a son to the duke of Norfolk; who, in 1 James, was restored to the honour of earl of Suffolk, and to the estates brought him by his mother. And he dwelt in Duke's Place, near Aldgate.

Audley obtained also a grant of the late dissolved Chartreuse, near Smithfield (a); and that came with his daughter to the duke of Norfolk; and his son Thomas, earl of Suffolk, sold the said premises, then called Howard house, in the year 1611. This house, now

(a) Tanner in his *Notitia* says, that this place was granted, in 1542, to John Bridges, and Thomas Hale, for their joint lives. From that period it was granted to Sir Edward North; whose son sold it to the duke of Norfolk for 2500l. and his son, Thomas, earl of Suffolk, sold it, together with other estates, in the 9th of James, for 13,000l. to Thomas Sutton, Esq.

one of the best seminaries for learning, and the best governed endowed charity in the kingdom, hath some wonderful events in its history. It was first bought, enclosed, and consecrated, by Lord Manny, in 1349, for the burial-place of those who had died in great numbers of the plague; and a religious fraternity there established. It was now, in Henry's time, a well-endowed priory of Carthusian monks; containing about thirty in number, under a prior. This man, by name John Houghton, refused to own the king's supremacy; and for this he was convicted of treason in 1535, hanged at Tyburn, and quartered. At the same time two of his brethren underwent the same fate(a); and one quarter of Houghton's body was hung up at the great gate; and ten more of the brethren lingered to death in prison, the same year, for the same offence. Then William Trafford was elected prior; who, with nineteen of his monks, subscribed to the new supremacy; while nine refused. However, no more convictions or trials followed; but they surrendered in 1538, while terror and disgust struck every beholder.

In 1537 (28th of Henry) there was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor, the dissolved priory of St. Julian and St. Botolph, in Colchester, valued at 113*l. per annum*, together with the church and rectory, to be holden, *in capite*, by knight's service. And in four years after he alienated the same to John Golder and his heirs. But in the 18th of Elizabeth the advowson of this church, with other churches in Colchester, was held by Robert Audley, son and heir of Thomas Audley, of Beerchurch, of the queen, *in capite*, by knights service.

In this same year the king granted to Audley 40*l.* a year, out of the dissolved priory of Hatfield Regis in Essex(b). And in the following year, 1538, (29th of Henry,) there was granted to Audley the priory of Britwell, in Essex, valued at 194*l. per ann.* with its site, lands, and estates, to be holden *in capite*. This tenure ceased at his death; and then his brother obtained the same by licence in the 5th of Edward VI. and sold it to the lord Rich; in whose family it continued until male issue failed; and the whole of his estates came among coheiresses in 1659. This family was descended from Sir Richard Rich, who was made the first chancellor of the Augmentations. And in 27th Henry VIII. Rich obtained a grant of the priory of Lees in Essex, and made it the seat of his family; whence sprang,

(a) See Stow, p. 571.

(b) Mon. I. 297.

in the reign of James I. two earldoms; viz. of Warwic and of Holland, since extinct.

The abbey of Walden, valued at 406l. a year, was surrendered in 1538, and the next year was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor; and he was, by letters patent, dated November 30, of that year, 1539, created lord Audley of Walden; and to his heirs male. He died April 30, 1544, aged 56, and was buried in his new chapel at Walden; and in 1543 a grant was made to him of the hospital of Crouched Friars, otherwise called the Guild of St. Helen, situate in Bishopsgate-street; suppressed some years before, and valued at 7l. a year, but at a small distance from his mansion-house.

The above-mentioned Thomas, earl of Suffolk, became lord treasurer under James; was turned out, and fined in the Star-Chamber, for extortion; but was more afflicted by the wickedness of his daughter, lady Frances, who, having married Devereux, earl of Essex, was divorced from him, then intrigued with and married Carr earl of Somerset, and these together were convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Sir Henry Spelman was so struck with the misfortunes of many families, and, among the rest, of his own, who had partaken ill of the spoil of abbeys, that he scrupled not to say, 'they had judgements;' and he compiled a book, published in 1667 by his own son, on this subject; and called 'The History of Sacrilege,' or, 'De non temerandis Ecclesiis.' This earl of Suffolk spent six years in erecting, at a vast expence, a large and beautiful house on the ruins of the ancient abbey of Walden, and named it Audley-inn. In splendor and magnificence, as well as in magnitude and convenience, it was exceeded by none in England, except Hampton Court. But it never prospered, says the Monasticon(a); by which, I suppose, the author means, that it never manifested that hospitality that feeds the poor, or that numerous issue of children, which is among earthly blessings, or that regular descent in a lineal succession which is a mark of God's favour, or that stability and duration of family which follows the deeds of upright, pious, faithful, men. Great houses are no better than monuments.

Audley had also, in 1543, a grant of the site, manor, and rectory, of Tiltey, in Essex, being an abbey of Cistercian monks, and valued

by Speed at 177l. a year. He had grants also of Corney manor in Layston; the manor of Westmill, of Mesdon (belonging before to the abbey of St. Mary de Graces, near the Tower), of Little Hormead, of Aspenden, and of Braughin, all in the county of Hertford; which last had belonged to the priory of the Holy Trinity. These descended to the duke of Norfolk; but Aspenden returned to the crown at Audley's death. But, as an instance of farther remuneration to the several persons who concurred in Parliament to effect this great work, it need only be observed how short-lived was this Court of Augmentations: it was instituted in 1536, with a great number of officers; and in eight or nine years Henry thought fit to abolish it by letters patent, and to establish it anew upon a much narrower plan, whereby more than three-fourths of the ancient officers were dismissed. The plea was, their business was very little, and their salaries very great. The reason why their duty and business were diminished was; because most of the estates and property first committed to their charge was alienated and gone; and it is probable that the officers were among those who served themselves first; and with good salaries they were soon enabled to make purchases. Sir Thomas Pope, who was constituted treasurer, or second officer, had acquired, by the year 1553, more than thirty manors. And, in his charter of foundation for his college at Oxford, dated March 4, 1554-5, are recited twenty-five manors and thirteen advowsons; besides impropriations and pensions, with all which he is licensed to enfeoff his college (a). The office of Augmentation went on for a few years; but on this reduced plan the salaries amounted to more than 7000l. a year; and in the first year of queen Mary she procured an act to pass for the total abolition of the office, as having no longer any property under their care, and nothing left even to pay the officers; and thus, in eighteen years, all that vast accession of wealth, which was taken from the clergy, to augment the revenue and render the crown more splendid, was dissipated among the gentry; and a new set of men arose, who would never suffer Popery to be re-established; even if it could have produced more merits in its favour. The crown was now left without any permanent share or benefit; and, in the fourth year of Philip and Mary, the necessities of the crown were such as to induce the queen to constitute a commission of the principal officers of state to review the crown lands and estates, and to sell for a price such parcels

(a) See Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 24.

as remained in the Exchequer, and had escaped the profuse liberality of Henry, or which should appear not to have been specifically purchased; an instance of which shall appear in Rydge.

The great acquisitions made by Pope would have brought a blemish on his fame and character, had he not applied a great part of it to the founding of Trinity college in Oxford. For, this was devoting his wealth to the public service, and providing for the happiness of mankind in a better manner than had been done before by that revenue. He certainly intended to improve the minds of men by liberal science, as the best way to prepare them for a rational faith and a purity of morals; both of which had been overlooked when men were made to leap at once into a perfection of holiness in the cloister. This same thought actuated Audley, when he a few years before re-endowed Magdalen College in Cambridge; and Sir Thomas White, the lord-mayor of London, when he, at the same time with Pope, founded and endowed St. John's college, in Oxford.

These were extraordinary instances in the application; but all the officers of that court, and the visitors who were first employed in the work, were seen to rise to a sudden eminence. There was not a nobleman of that time who was not benefited, and not a commoner who did not find opportunities of gaining advantages in fortune, and many of them a speedy distinction in rank. Dr. Petre, from being selected from one of the inns of court, and appointed a visitor, raised himself so high, by his skill and experience in public business, that he was made secretary of state under Edward, and Mary; and, by his acquisitions of the church-property, to such eminence and fortune, that James, in 1603, thought fit to ennoble the family. A most singular instance of prudence was discernible in that man; for, when it was somewhat uncertain, in the beginning of Mary's reign, what turn things would take, and whether a resumption might not be thought a necessary measure to relieve the wants of the crown, he procured a special grant or bull, from the pope (a), to be allowed to keep and retain all his acquisitions. Gyffard, who visited in the North with Belasyse, and who interceded with Cromwell for saving the monastery of Woolstrobe, near Belvoir, to the king's great displeasure (who said they had received rewards to write thus), gained some good estates in Kent, settled there, was made sheriff, and, some time after, chosen into Parliament; while his associate in the visitation settled in York-

(a) In Stevens's Mon.

shire, and laid the foundation of a family since ennobled; and as conspicuous for their virtues as for their fortunes. In the West of England very splendid estates were collected and united in one family, named Seymour; to which they have ever since been attached, with no small increase of honour and title. And the same was effected in another family named Thynne, whose founder, Sir John Thynne (a), being an officer of the first Court of Augmentations, I believe auditor, the intimate friend and adviser of protector Somerset, possessed himself of many curious deeds and writings, which had, before the dissolution, belonged to religious houses; and which he preserved when the court was abolished. If these writings are still in being, they would afford much curious history in monastic matters, and not in the least degree endanger any man's title (b).

Having mentioned Sir Thomas Pope as a liberal partaker in the monastic spoil, I will begin with shewing what he gained of this abbey's late possessions. And here I find, that in the last year of Henry (1547) he received a grant of the abbey's estate of Tyttenhangre, in the parish of Rydge. This estate, whole parish, and tithes, had formerly been bestowed by Richard Albiney, a descendant of Tothenei, and of that family who bore an hereditary love to St. Alban. They had received grants, from the Conqueror, of lands at Flamstead, and this donation in Rydge must have been made to the abbey in the time of Geoffry the abbot, or earlier, because Blackhides, in Rydge, was assigned to the maintenance of Sopwell, founded by Geoffrey. The grant of this estate of Tyttenhangre to Pope seems to have been gratuitous; but it included not Blackhides only, but also the almoner's tithe; as the same had been set apart by Michael Mentmore the abbot (c). But Henry died before the grant was signed and completed; and full confirmation was given to it in the first year of Edward; and the deed is signed, (*Hicce oculis vidi,*) Ed-

(a) Sir John's father was a citizen of London, and a man of letters. He was the first who collected and published all the works of Chaucer, in the early part of the reign of Henry the VIIIth; and by that circumstance brought himself and his son into repute, and into favour at Court. He was buried in the church of All-Hallows Barking, in Thames-street.

(b) See Birch's catalogue of them in the Museum, for they still exist.

(c) For, the manor of Blackhide, alias Crofters, had been granted to Sir Richard Lee, on the 15th of April, in the 33d of Henry VIII. with a reserved rent of 11. 16s. 6d. and Cellbarnes also the same day, together with three crofts, and other small parcels of land held of the manor of Tyttenhangre, with the like reserved rent. And Blackhide was sold afterwards to Sir Thomas Pope. See Fee-farm rolls in Augmentation-Office.

ward

ward Somerset, in a very fair and good hand. Pope enjoyed this benefaction, and lived here until his death in 1559; but in no employ or public office during Edward's reign; never opposing or resisting the new ordinances in religion, though still retaining his attachment to the old faith and worship. And, in the reign of Mary, he was received into favour again, made one of the Privy Council, and appointed cofferer of the Household. He was employed in several commissions of trust, and, above all, in that of being the keeper or governor of the princess Elizabeth, who, during the two first years of Mary lived at Ashridge (a) as in her own house it is said, under the charge of Sir Henry Beddingfield; and, during the rest of Mary's time, at the palace at Hatfield, under the care of Sir Thomas Pope. At his death, in January, 1559, two months after his royal mistress, he left his estate in Rydge (as he had improved it) to his lady and her heirs; without any relation or connection of it, to the college (b). Lady Pope soon after married Sir Hugh Pawlet, of Hinton St. George, in the county of Somerset, who died in 1571; and this lady lived here to a great age, and died in 1593; leaving this estate to her nephew Thomas Blount, of which family she had descended, being a daughter of Walter Blount, Esq. of Blount's Hall in Staffordshire. In 1579, she gave the tithes of Rydge and advowson of the vicarage, to Trinity College, Oxford. The circumstances of this donation were these: her nephew, Richard Blount, had left 100*l.* to the college, to maintain an exhibitioner, and for other purposes. Lady Pawlet agreed with the executors to give the rectory of Rydge, on condition she might receive the 100*l.* in hand paid. This was agreed, and the rent is now better adapted to maintain a scholar, and fulfil the other bequests; and it is covenanted, that the said scholar, if of this parish, shall have a preference to all others. With this donation she annexed the advowson to the college and their lessee; and the owner of Tyttenhangre hath ever had a lease of this rectory, and with it the privilege of the advowson. This estate thus came to the Blounts: and this family, in the last century, produced three or four very eminent men; considerable for their rank and public character; and no less distinguished as men of

(a) See Warton's Life of Pope.

This place was in the crown, and was granted in the 17th of Elizabeth to John Dudley and John Ayscough, in exchange for some other estates; and they sold it to the lord keeper Egerton.

(b) Of Trinity at Oxford, founded by him in 1556. Warton.

letters and as authors. When this family became extinct, by the death of Sir Henry Pope Blount, near forty years ago, it devolved to the Freemans; and from them, on failure of heirs male, to the right hon. Philip, earl of Hardwic, the present possessor.

In the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, a commission was appointed, as I have said, to value and sell for the benefit of the crown. The commissioners were:

Sir Thomas Cornwallis, knight comptroller of the household;
 Sir Edward Waldegrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster;
 Sir Francis Englefield, master of the court of wards and liveries;
 Sir William Petre, chancellor of the order of the garter;
 Sir John Baker, chancellor of the Exchequer;
 Sir William Cordall, master of the rolls; and
 Sir William Myldmay, knights;

and they were directed 'to rate and estimate all and every part of any 'grant not heretofore valued though given.' So that now a price was to be paid for any part of a grant not specifically mentioned therein. It was discovered, that, though the estate of Tyttenhamgre was given, the manor was not included; and here the annual rents reserved *cum suis juribus et pertin. in com. Hert.* amounted to 5l. 11s. 3½d. This was valued at twenty years purchase, and the money to be paid in hand before the end of June; and this bears date on June 16, 1557. The rectory of Garlington also was given to Sir Thomas Pope, on the 22d of June, 1557. It had formerly belonged to this abbey; but was now chosen by Pope to be annexed to his new college; and intended for the repose and security of the fellows and scholars in case of any pestilence; and it was furnished with a rectory-house, fit for their reception, and resorted to whenever the plague visited Oxford. This rectory was now valued at the yearly rent of 18l. 19s. 8d. and estimated at one year's purchase to Pope; although the same had been valued, and lately, at three years' purchase, to Thomas Hawes, Esq. 'one of our physicians (a).'

The parish of *Rydge* has no place in Doomsday-Book; which argues that it was of no value, and perhaps all waste land, or covered with wood. The same may be said of the village of *Totteridge*; it has no mention in that estimate; and it is no improbable etymology, that as ridge signifies a long range of high land, this place being

(a) Harl. MSS. 607 des Ratz 13 p.

nearer to St. Alban's, was simply stiled Rydge; and the next, or farther high land, was called by the plain appellation of The other Rydge, or T'other Rydge; and was at some future time inclosed and cultivated by some of the bishops of Ely, who lived at Hatfield; and thus furnished with a church made dependant on Hatfield: it was not made a distinct parish until the 43d of Elizabeth, when a parochial tax was ordained for the poor.

In *Barnet* the abbey had long possessed the manor and tithes. Mary, in the first year of her reign, granted the former to Anthony Butler, Esq. and the same continued in his descendants until the 17th of James I. then it passed to Sir John Wild, and it remained in his family till the 18th of Charles I. It then passed through several hands, until the 3d of James II. when it was sold to John Niccol, Esq. of Hendon-place, in Middlesex. From him it passed by sale, in 1695, to Sir Thomas Cooke, knt. alderman of London. He sold it to James the first duke of Chandos, in the time of George I. who procured an act of Parliament, in 1729, to inclose a certain quantity of acres on the common, and give to the poor 40l. yearly in consideration thereof. But the terms were not complied with, and the inclosure was laid open.

The steward of this manor is appointed by letters patent, in conformity to the practice under the abbots. The famous Noy, attorney general under Charles I. held this office by such honourable grant.

Under the above commission the following valuation was made within this manor, entitled,

Lands in Herts, sold in the fourth and fifth of Philip and Mary (a).

In Barnet, three acres called Cross Croft, with one barn and a meadow of nine acres, together with an orchard, and a pool in Wood-street, in the occupation of John Marsh of Chip Barnet, of the yearly rent of 26s. 8d.

Two crofts called milcrofts, with the hedgerowes of the same, of the yearly value of 6d. .

Sixteen acres in the tenure of William Preston, of London, of the yearly value of 43s. 4d.

These premisses, say the commissioners, were part of the possessions of the late monastery of St. Alban, and some time holden by copy of court-roll, as of the manor of Barnet; and afterward by John Wheatham, and his successor, were purchased; and so severed and

divided from the said manor. And, so being thereof seized, they did, notwithstanding, contrary to law, demise and let the same to divers persons, by copy of court-roll of the said manor of Barnet, to be holden at the will of the lord; which copies and tenure have so continued erroneously against the laws by the space of sixty years and more, as by an inquisition hereof taken at Chipen Barnet aforesaid, before Sir William Stamford, knt. (a) one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and Edward Taylor, Esq. the sixth day of June, in the fourth and fifth years of Philip and Mary, more plainly appeareth.

‘ The clere yearly value of the premises, was 70s. 6d. which, rated at twenty-three years purchase, amounts to 81l. 1s. 6d. The money to be paid in twelve days.

‘ The king and queen to discharge the purchaser of all things and incumbrances made and done by their majesties, except leases.

‘ The purchaser to discharge the king and queen of all fees and reprises going out of the premises.

‘ The tenure in socage.

‘ The purchaser to have the issues from the feast of Pentecoste last past.

‘ The purchaser to be bound for the woods.

‘ The lead, bells, and advowsons, to be excepted.

‘ Signed William Cordall, John Baker, Walter Myldemaye.’

The purchaser was the above-mentioned John Marsh, whose family hath continued till about forty years ago, when it expired in Marsh Wolfe, Esq.

Another sale of lands, at the same time, was of two acres, called Pynfold Grove, lying at or near Dogget’s Hill, in East Barnet, valued at 2s. 9½d. *per* year, and at twenty-three years purchase was sold to Richard Nicholls of Barnet, on the same covenants as above.

Sold also at the same time lands in East Barnet called Boreland, Scheller’s Croft, Butler’s Mead, Dogget’s Hill Grove, Highfield Hedge, Hebe Hedge, and Ruffel Grove.

The yearly value was 5l. and at 23 years purchase was 115l. sold to Henry Bellamy, of London, mercer.

Sold also, in East Barnet, on the 19th day of July, 1559, two groves (*Bosci et Subbosci*) called Prestons and Hograves, containing by estimation thirty acres, *sive plus sive minus*, in the occupation of Thomas Savage, at the yearly rent of 25s. 4d. and Savage was the purchaser.

East Barnet is the more ancient parish, and indeed the mother-church; for, as I have shewn before, the church at Barnet town

(a) This Sir William Stamford is interred in the church of Hadley, and did probably live there in his own house, &c.

was built about 1400 by John Moot. And it is probable that no distinction of parishes took place, in regard to the poor, until the 43d of Elizabeth, though it had long been two parishes, and one manor. The execution of that act, calculated for the relief of the poor, gave rise to many parochial distinctions and divisions. The tithes and the patronage having passed to the crown at the dissolution, the former were annexed to the church, and from a small vicarage the church is become a good rectory. The crown then presented, and hath done so ever since upon every vacancy. This was a wise precaution; as it not only restored the incumbent to some degree of rank and consideration; but it reserved to the crown a capacity of conferring a favour. Yet this wise precaution was not followed in scarce any other instance.

The parish of *St. Peter* was large; and here the incumbent was indulged with no retribution of great tithe; and perhaps the crown, and its counsellors, thought him well provided without any grant of tithes; because the offerings at the altar were abundant and valuable; insomuch, that the infirmary was formerly maintained and supplied from them; but, when the Popish religion and worship was abolished, the worshipers relinquished the good practices with the bad, and offerings diminished. And, so ill-accustomed were the vicars to gather their portions of tithe, and even to ascertain their rights, that it was necessary, so early as the 2d of Edward VI. to make a law to give them relief, and to compel the parishioners to pay all *accustomed* tithes, offerings, obventions, &c. That portion of this parish's tithe, which was called the almoner's tithe, was granted first to Lee, and came then to Sir Thomas Pope. The tithe of the rest of the parish was given or sold to two or three private persons, and are now the property of two gentlemen named Reading and Pym.

A small manor in this parish named *Beech*, from one Godfrey de Beche, who obtained the same from the Conqueror, was granted to Anthony Denny, Esq. a gentleman of the chamber to Henry VIII. he obtained many other grants in this neighbourhood, as well as from the possessions of Waltham abbey, and procured to his son the title of Earl of Norwich. It was sold afterwards to a family named Dell. The manor of *Butterwick* also was granted to Denny; and then sold to Sir Richard Cox, master of the household under queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles the First; and in this family it hath remained to this day: and the late proprietor was Alban Cox, Esq.

Although there is undoubted proof that the abbot built the three churches at the entrances into the town ; and that the churches of St. Stephen and St. Michael, now standing, are those identical churches then built, and are indeed most admirable specimens of the Saxon style of building ; yet we cannot say the same of the church of St. Peter. The present edifice differs from the others so much that it is not of the same age, and more resembles the improved style of building which took place in the time of Henry III. when the first set of churches were worn out, and it was necessary to rebuild several. Then it was, that the low solid pier, and the semicircular arch, gave way, to the tall slender pillar, and the pointed arch ; then the cieling rose higher, the work was less solid and maffy, and the spaces were more wide and ample. If it be said, why did not the first church of St. Peter stand and endure like its cotemporaries ? I will give this plain reason ; because it was not built of the Roman tile as the other two were, but of such materials, chalk, flint, and rubble, as were near at hand. This was very conspicuous at opening the piers of the tower a few years ago ; the whole of which is probably of the first construction, and carries with it a different style from the rest of the church ; but had not a fragment in it of the Roman materials. These last are so strong, by being well made, and well burnt at first, and then so well laid, cemented, and bonded, (as it is called) in the works, that they bid fair to out-last all stone, marble, or iron. And I shall hold this opinion, that St. Peter's church is not older than Henry the III'd's time, until I see some written evidence to the contrary.

The parish of *St. Michael* containeth little more to be said of it, than to trace the descent of Gorhambury. Sir Nicolas Bacon (a) became possessor of it from Maynard ; and, having enlarged and em-

(a) He placed the following lines over the front of the house, at the entrance into the great hall ; but they must be considered only as describing the *finish* and *improvements* he had made, and not the *building* of the house :

Hæc cum perfecit Nicolaus testâ Baconus,
Elizabeth regni lustra fuere duo ;
Factus eques, magni custos fuit ille sigilli :
Gloria sit soli tota tributa Deo.

Mediocria firma. 1568.

The foundations of the first original house here built, and inhabited by Robert de Corham, are discernible in the present park, situate eastward of the new mansion, and near the famous row of chefnut-trees celebrated in Evelyn's *Sylva*, and bespeak a large building to have once stood there,

bellished the same for the entertainment of the queen, departed this life in 1579, having enjoyed the honourable office of lord keeper of the Great Seal from the first year of her reign. By his first wife, whose name I cannot find, he was the father of that baronet's family of Redgrave in Suffolk (a), who have borne a title and rank of eminent distinction; and by his second wife, who was Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy Hall in Essex, and who had been the governess of Edward VI. he had two sons; viz. Anthony, who died young, and Francis, the illustrious lord Verulam, and most learned lawyer and philosopher. This second son married Alice, a daughter of Benedict Barnham, alderman of London, who is interred (as a mural tablet shews) in the cathedral of Chichester; and whose other daughter was the unfortunate wife of the lord Castlehaven; who, for his ill treatment of her, was, with his accomplices, hanged. This eminent lord Verulam had no children (b); and, dying, bequeathed his estate and manor-house, &c. to Sir Thomas Meautys, knt. who had been his private secretary, and clerk of the Privy Council under James I. and Charles. This Meautys died without children, and the estate passed to his next heir, Sir Thomas Meautys, who was his first cousin. This man had married Anne, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Oxford Hall in Suffolk, knt. And at his death he gave this estate to his wife for life, with remainder to his heirs. His wife survived him, with one daughter named Jane. Sir Harbottle Grimston married the widow; and, Jane dying aged 10 or 11 years, the reversion descended to Hercules Meautys, a son of a brother of the late Sir Thomas; and Hercules sold all his right and title therein to Sir Harbottle. This gentleman's family had been long seated at Bradfield in Essex; and received the title of baronet in the year 1612. And this Harbottle had married to his first wife, a daughter of Sir George Croke, knt. one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and who signalized his name by pleading against the ship money in Charles I's time; and by her he had two sons, viz. George, who married a daughter of Dr. Alston, of London, and died childless; and Samuel, who succeeded his father; and two daughters; viz. Mary, who was married to Sir Capel Luckyn, of Little Waltham in Essex, baronet, and Elizabeth, who was married to George Grubham Howe of Barwick, in the county of Wilts,

(a) Now of Ravening in Norfolk, and premier baronet.

(b) See the state-trials.

and made baronet in 1660. The second wife of Sir Harbottle was the above-mentioned Anne, the relict of Sir Thomas Meautys. Before he came to live here he served in Parliament for Colchester, before the Restoration; and at that event he was chosen speaker of the Commons, and contributed much to the restoration of the monarchy and the church. He was soon after made master of the rolls, and filled that office with great reputation until his death, in 1683. Sir Samuel Grimston, bart. his son and heir, married a daughter of Henry Finch, earl of Nottingham, and had by her one daughter, who was married to the marquis of Halifax. After his first lady's death he married a daughter of the earl of Thanet, served in Parliament for St. Alban's in five several Parliaments, and died in 1704; and, leaving no issue male, the estate, &c. devolved to lady Luckyn and her eldest son.

As for such parts of this neighbouring country as did not belong to this abbey, it is probable this was the cause that most of the adjacent churches, if not the manors, had been given to other abbeys before, and made part of their endowments. Thus the Benedictine monastery of Walden in Essex, founded by Geoffrey de Mandeville, a great Norman, in 1136, had the following churches bestowed on it by this founder, *Walden, Waltham, Eglise, Sabriteswerd, Thorley, Gedeleson, Enesfeld, Edelmeftan, Mimmes (a), Senley, Northall, Digenfwell, Stratly, Ainbo,* and the hermitage of *Hadeley*. The original grant of these endowments is extant in the Latin Dugdale.

(a) The Frowyks had long been settled in this parish of Mymmes. The first of this name, whom I find mentioned, is Isabell Frowyk, who in 1288 possessed a windmill in the parish of South Mymms, and twenty acres of land contiguous. The abbey of Walden in Essex, founded by Geoffry de Mandeville, was possessed (by the gift of the said Geoffry, who also was owner of all the chace, and large estates in this country) of the tithes of Mymms, and demanded the same as due from the said mill and the twenty acres. The said Isabell refused; the abbey sued her in the Court of the bishop of London; and in this year the said court pronounced judgement against her. *Ex Registro Cartarum ae Mon. de Walden.* Harl. MSS, 3677.

The next I find, in 1299 named Sir Thomas Frowyk, to have been a founder and benefactor to Guildhall Chapel.

Then Sir Henry Frowyk, who dwelt at Gonwelsbury, and lieth buried in Afton Church; and whose daughter and coheir, Elizabeth, was grandmother to Sir Henry Spelman. And therefore it is probable the said Sir Henry Frowyk died in the time of Henry VIII.

And it is also probable that his father is the person named Sir Thomas Frowyk, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, who lieth buried in Finchley Church, and who died 1506, Weever. See also a pedigree of the Frowyks in Chauncey, p. 462.

This

This Geoffrey obtained grants of the manor and chace of Enfield, and lived therein, having a large house within the moat near to the Camlod way, and now enclosed in that allotment which hath been called Trent Place. From his sister, who, on the death of his sons became heiress of all his estates and married William de Say, spring the Bohuns, earls of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton; and the heiress in time of Richard II. being married to the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster, contributed to elevate her consort to the throne of this realm by the name of Henry the IVth. When he constituted the dutchy court of Lancaster, these great estates, with others, obtained by him, made part of the dutchy revenue; but the churches above-mentioned continued in the abbey of Walden, until the time of the dissolution.

In the parish of St. Michael the abbey's possessions had been great; but when I have spoken of the manor of Gorham, there remains little else worthy of notice. The tithe of St. Michael's had always been divided into portions, and assigned to different officers of the house; that is, the abbey was intitled to the tenth of all the corn and of the grass; but a certain part of that tenth was allotted to the cellarer, and another part to the infirmarar, and another part to the coquinar; and these portions did not arise out of certain lands, and compose the tithes of those lands; but were arbitrary assignments out of the whole, made by the abbot, as occasions arose and necessities required. But now, the whole corn tithe on the North side of the river belongs to one person, as impropriator; and that on the South to another; the grass tithe of the whole parish to another: and this distribution took place when the crown, having possession of the whole, made such division as it thought proper; and left the rights and dues of the vicar unimpaired and unaltered.

The manor of *Chilwic*, which from early times was among the abbey's best estates, was granted away to Sir William Cavendish by Henry VIII. together with Northaugh. But he kept not these estates any long time; and, as the custom then was with the nobles and gentry to accommodate each other, and often to oblige the crown, he exchanged them for others, situate in Derbyshire. This gentleman sprang from a family in Suffolk, named Garnons formerly; but which, dwelling at Cavendish, assumed this for their surname. The famous navigator Cavendish, who finished his voyage round the world in 1588, was of this family; though his relation to Sir William
liam

liam is no where clearly made out. But John de Cavendish, chief justice of the King's Bench in Richard the 1st's time, and murdered by the rebels under Tyler in 1381, was an undoubted ancestor of this Sir William. This gentleman had been a faithful attendant and friend of Cardinal Woolsey; and, at the death of this his master, the king sent a message to him requesting to see him. The discourse at this interview is recorded by historians, and the event was, that the king took him into his service, and made him of his chamber, with directions to go to my lord of Norfolk, and *he shall pay you, said the king, your whole year's wages, and a reward besides.* In this situation he ingratiated himself with Henry, was made, in 1539, one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentations; and, in 1545, he was appointed treasurer of the chamber, and one of the council. In 1539 he was one of those who came down to this abbey, together with the visitors, and Sir Thomas Pope, to receive the surrender. And in this office he failed not to reap in that harvest, to which every skilful man then put his sickle. His own acquisitions, and the very fortunate marriage which he made with the widow of Robert Barley, Esq. of the county of Derby(a), called him to such rank, fortune, and eminence, that his son was created the first earl of Devonshire, in the third of James I. and the family hath ever since been ennobled by illustrious descendants and branches, as much distinguished by their good name as by their honours and ample inheritances. How long Chitwic remained in the hands of Sir William Cavendish, or to whom he conveyed this manor, I find not; nor who possessed the same until it was conveyed to Joshua Lomax, esq. about the year 1666.

The manor of *Kingbury* in this parish is of ancient note and royal fame; for, here was holden a council of bishops and great men(b), in 851, convened by Bertulph, king of Mercia, and successor to Offa. The acts of this council are recorded in Spelman's Collection,

(a) This lady had been the daughter and coheir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, in the county of Derby, esq. and brought a great part of his estate to Sir William Cavendish; and also all the estate of Robert Barley. After Sir William's death, she married Sir Wil. St. Loo, captain of the guard to queen Elizabeth, and owner of a great estate. In her third widowhood she married George, earl of Shrewsbury. She had children only by Sir William Cavendish. And to these she brought the whole estates of Barley and St. Loo, one moiety of her paternal estate of Hardwick, and a considerable part of the Shrewsbury estate; and procured also an intermarriage of a son and daughter with a daughter and son of that earl.

(b) Spelman's Councils.

by which it appears, that they consulted no less on the public affairs of the church and state than on the special business of the estates and manors given and granted to the abbey of Croyland. This incident makes it highly probable, that in this place had been one of the many palaces at which Offa used to reside, and others of the Saxon kings ; who were constantly travelling through their dominions, not only to provide for the defence thereof, but to dispense justice, and administer the law. Something of royalty appears in the very name, and a beautiful situation to the North-East of this town, called Cunningham-hill, (Koningham,) though now only a farm, denotes this place also as a royal seat. Now, from this certain proof of its royalty in the Saxon times, we may affirm, without presumption, that this was a distinguished place in the time of the Romans, and perhaps earlier ; even when Cassivelaunus was king of this country and went forth to oppose Cæsar. Could we have certain proof that Cæsar approached to this town, then called Verulam, this would strengthen my conjecture that the British king did reside here ; because we well know that Cæsar always pointed his march against the principal towns or cities, and tried thus to open a communication with his enemy. And this town was made a principal seat of the Romans, and by them augmented and fortified, and made the seat of justice and a place of arms, because they found it somewhat considerable, and the residence of the British chief. If we look down below the time of Bertulph's Council, though no mention is made of it, yet it continued a royal house until the time of king Stephen and Henry II. who gave it up to the abbot, as above related. But what denotes its grandeur and its uses, at the time of the Conquest, and in that reign, is this, that at the survey, directed by William, here was a *vivarium* (a), or place for keeping wild beasts and choice animals ; a privilege and a dignity that belonged only to the king. Here was the only place of this kind in the whole kingdom ; and therefore this may well be supposed to be among the splendid luxuries of the preceding sovereigns. To enclose land for the safe custody of beasts, or, in other words, to make a park, was a Norman improvement ; the right resided solely in the king ; and it was an infringement of the common law to shut up and confine beasts of the chase in safe custody without the king's special licence ; hence called a writ of free warren. This palace, or castle, for it appears to

(a) See Doomsday.

have been inclosed within certain moats and defences of water, was become the resort of the kings and nobles; and they were so numerous, with their attendants, as to be a burden to the abbey; and on the complaint of Ælfric to king Ethelred, to whom he had been chancellor, the king consented to sell to the abbot the royal manor of Kingsbury, together with the parks and woods belonging; reserving to himself only one small fortrefs or tower near the monastery, as a token of his royalty. And this tower was the gateway or entrance from the market-place, near the present Christopher Inn, leading into the Park; which comprehended a large space of ground behind the present town, and extending almost to Chilwic. This was probably the limit of the present manor; and this remained with the abbey until the dissolution. After which it was granted to John Cox, and his grandson sold it to Sir Francis Bacon; who, when he fell under the censure of Parliament, conveyed this manor, together with Gorhambury, to Sir Thomas Meautys; and from him it went in like manner to Sir Harbottle Grimston. The said fortrefs, or tower, has been entirely ruined and demolished; though, if the present old tower in the market can be found to contain in it any of the Roman brick, it may plead to be very ancient, if not that same tower left by Etheldred (a).

But, if this tower cannot make good its claim to great antiquity, I will mention here a certain part of the foundation of the church which has undeniable proofs of its very great age. This is the foundation of the North wall toward the West end. Here, at the distance of

(a) But if Kingsbury bears not the name of any particular king, and is honoured only with a general title of sovereignty, be it known that the name of Germanus still remains and flourishes to this day; the old site of Verulam is still called St. German's Farm. All the broad part of the same, extending from the British bank to the Hampstead road, is called by that name; and containing more than seventy acres, divided into six or seven fields, called Dorvaille, upper, lower, and middle; which alludes to the name of these lands in the time of Henry III. when they were called Derefold, as in p. 142. After the fall and ruin of Verulam, and when the Saxons gained the ascendancy, this site received the name of Germanus, as if in pious regard to his memory; and is a mark of the zeal and devotion of its newly-converted masters. These fields still bear this name; and, in the spot where Dr. Stukeley has placed St. German's chapel, here stood a very respectable mansion of brick, with a court in front, and stables, &c. a place fit for genteel inhabitants; and the chapel was situated near the British bank in the corner of a little meadow. This was the condition of St. German's farm in the year 1637; as it appears by a plan and drawing of the same now in the hands of its owner, Ralph Smith, gent. At which time the property of St. German's farm was in Sir Thomas Cotton, baronet, of Conington, in the county of Huntingdon, and son of the great antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton.

fifteen or twenty yards from the North West corner, the foundation is seen to diverge from the straight line and incline to the North, making there an obtuse angle. When this foundation appears thus contrary to all the rules of building, the reason seems to be, that the old foundation toward the West was found by Paul's architects to point not to the East, but many degrees from that, toward the South; and if they had continued the new wall in a direct line, the East end would have pointed to S. S. E. They therefore, to avoid such an error, if not an impiety, directed the new foundation more to the East; yet still, after all their correction, they set the church three points South of the East. If the two foundations be examined with a hammer, or some pointed instrument, it will be found that the West end is of the motherstone in large blocks; and, from the angle Eastward, it consists of the Roman tile or brick, with clunch and flint. Now, it is probable that this motherstone foundation was older than Paul's time, and not laid by his builders; but they, finding it erroneous in its position yet too strong to be removed, endeavoured to correct the error by beginning their work nearer to the Eastern position. If this argument be just, we must conclude this part of the foundation to have been laid by Offa in 793. Nor let any person start at the thoughts of a thousand years; when the bank that formed the head of the pool is still entire (except at the passage cut for the river), and was certainly constructed before we have any notices of such a place as Verulam; that is, soon after the time of our Saviour, or more probably long before. And there is nothing in England that can boast with certainty a more sublime antiquity beside Stonehenge. They are both of the druidical age.

The present parish of *St. Stephen* was of little note in the early times, but thought to be among the first possessions of the abbey: though the parish-church was built a hundred years before the Conquest yet the parish was generally known by the name of the manor therein contained; which at that time was no other than the Weald or Wild. This manor extended over all the present parish, from the lands of Gorham and Westwic, as far to the South as the manor of Hendon and county of Middlesex; bounded on the West by Aldenham, and Eastward by the manor of Tyttenhamre. This whole district was all forest and woods, its highways dangerous from robbers, with little or no cultivation in it; and, after the founding of St. Julian's, the parish was more known by that name than by St. Stephen's.

It was in this wild condition at the Conquest, and certainly had at that time very few inhabitants. The Normans took possession of this large tract, and first began to inclose and cultivate(a); and the manor of Park, as its Norman name imports, was the first inclosure: this was done early, and perhaps in the time of Henry I. and, subsequent to that, several other small manors were derived out of the Weald; and, being in new and more industrious hands, they were cleared and reclaimed from their wild state; such was Newbury, Boreham, Shenleybury, and Salisbury. Napsbury, called Apfa in the first memoirs of the abbey, was an early gift, and a good farm; and Titburst, another manor adjoining to the weald, belonged early to the church of Westminster. The Normans generally gave the appellation of *bury* to their new habitations; whereas the Saxons were accustomed to call them by the terminations of *ham* and *hide*. And another mark of a late inclosure in this parish is the term *Hedges*, now given to a large farm in this parish; and which is of the same import as *batch* and *batches* in many other places: but all which imply and signify land inclosed from the adjoining waste. Very little can be discovered of these manors, or of their owners and inhabitants, prior to the dissolution. And even of the weald, the parent manor of the rest, I can find no inhabitant's name earlier than Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and then of Hastings, lord chamberlain to Edward IV. But these were no more than renters. It is said by Chauncey that the lands of Weald were possessed ' by John Somersham, lord of Cornard in Suffolk, in the 7th of Edward II. and that his only daughter married Thomas Frowyck of Old Fold in South Mymms; who enjoyed them in the time of Henry V. ' That his descendant married Anne, the daughter and co-heir of Robert Knowles, lord of North Mymms; and that their only daughter, and heirs, Elizabeth, married John Coningsby, the third son of Sir Humphry Coningsby, chief justice of the King's Bench in the time of Henry. ' This John possessed these manors, and was constituted sheriff for this ' county and Essex in the thirty-eighth of the same king.' Now, if this be true, and there is no reason to contradict it, it follows, that the owner of the weald manor was not the abbey; and that Frowyck was the lord thereof at the time of Humphry and of Hastings. And there are other reasons that induce me to think, the abbey never did possess

(a) By grants and leases under the king or abbey; for, here were the abbey's principal woods.

this manor, though it might have woodlands, or some estates therein, by virtue of a lease. For, first, I can find no mention of this manor among the first endowments, nor any grant of the same after the dissolution; and, which is a stronger reason than all that the abbey never had owned it, the tithes have ever been in lay hands, and none of the lands are exempt from tithes, except by late purchase from the impropiator; whereas, had the lands been the property of the abbey at the dissolution, they would have claimed an exemption by the statute of 31st Henry, and been all tithe-free to this day. The manor of Weald I say never was granted as other manors were; but the new manor of Park was granted, having been in the hands of the abbey at the time of the dissolution.

The truth is, that St. Stephen's parish is not named in Domesday; and is meant under the general title of Terra Sancti Albani, without the name of any manor, and no valuation made; by which I conjecture, the whole was waste ground and of no value, until the manor of Park was formed. At the Dissolution, Park manor fell to the Crown; and in the 33d Henry, viz. 1541, an act of Parliament passed 'to enable Anthony Denny, Esq. one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, 'to hold to him, and to his heirs, all the manor of the king of Park-bury in the county of Hertford, and all the land, tenements, and 'hereditaments, with the appurtenances in Park called Boreham, 'Spirth, or Frith, and Grimes Gate Field; with sundry other lands, 'tithes, and manerial rights(a). And this continued in Denny's family until the 1st of James I. when Edward lord Denny sold this manor of Park to Robert Briscoe, Esq. who sold it in 1607 to Sir Baptist Hicks; and, his daughter Mary being married to Sir Charles Moryson of Cathiobury, this manor passed with this marriage. Sir Charles died in 1628, leaving Elizabeth his sole daughter and heiress; who afterward became the wife of Arthur, lord Capel, of Hadham; and thus brought the manor of Park into the family of the earls of Essex. In the grants of confirmation given by Henry I. and Henry II. this is called the manor of Park with all the Soke.

The Weld or Weald manor continued in the family of the Coningsbys until the daughter of Sir Henry Coningsby, by name Geneveiva, espoused Thomas Aram, Esq. of Gray's inn, about 1670; to whom Sir Henry conveyed this manor. From him (b), who died in 1716, it

(a) See Chauncey, p. 504.

(b) He was buried in Shenley church; and Geneveiva also, in 1707.

came to the Briscoes, then to the Byngs, from that family it went to John Mafon, esq. about the year 1750; and in 1772 to the right hon. Richard, then lord viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and since created earl Howe, of the kingdom of Great Britain. And in every descent, since the time of Aram, the manor hath passed by purchase.

Aldenham had been among the first gifts and endowments made to the abbey; and this by Offa or his son. The name is Saxon, and denotes an ancient habitation in opposition to modern burys, and new places of abode. I have remarked in p. 43 of this history, that Frederic the abbot, in William's time, demised this manor for twenty years to Theobald, then abbot, and the convent of Westminster; and that the latter refused to give it up at the expiration of that term: he had taken it on condition to guard the highways to London; and, pretending to losses and injuries, was contending to hold it longer. The abbots of St. Alban's, we find, leased the same afterwards to one Taillebois and his sons, on the same condition; and to make acknowledgement to the abbey by rendering a yearly rent. It is said also in p. 67, that in the time of Henry II. the abbot of Westminster, named Lawrence, sued, in the king's exchequer, the abbot named Robert and convent of St. Alban's, and their lessee Robert Taillebois, with a view to recover; and that Lawrence, fearing the judgement of the court, and being rejected in his offer of twenty-three marks to Taillebois to relinquish his right, a compromise took place; and Robert confirmed this lessee in his right to pannage in the wood of Aldenham.

These transactions seem to bear hard on the characters of those two venerable prelates; and M. Paris, the relater, leaves the matter so involved as to approach towards calumny on those respectable men. But something offers itself in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, that not only vindicates them, but justifies the historian; for, in his chapter on confirmations and releases, Madox refers to an example of the latter (a), now extant among the records of the church of Westminster, wherein the above abbot Robert, and the convent of St. Alban, quit claim to Lawrence, the abbot and the convent of Westminster, 'in all their land in Aldenham.'

(a) Dated the 11th year of Henry II. in the king's exchequer; and attested by all the justiciaries and great officers of the law.

Now I observe here, that the term *land* doth not mean the manor; for, how could the lessee be confirmed by Robert, if he had quitted all right and interest in the manor? but by land, I apprehend, is meant the new inclosures made by Theobald; and which since have borne his name; and are called Theobald-street, and to inclose which he took an opportunity, when he first received a demise of the manor from the abbot Frederic. Paris says, that Theobald gave great trouble and molestation to the abbey of St. Alban; but this arose, probably, from the new privilege which Theobald was taking, and which was unexpected by Frederic; and this contest did not end until the 11th year of Henry II. when, as Paris says, a compromise took place; the manor remained with St. Alban, and the new inclosure was adjudged to Westminster, who had borne all the charge and expence, and were creating a new estate upon the waste of the manor. It is probable, that at this time the name of Tytburst might begin; and some manerial rights be granted in the compromise above-mentioned. As Theobald had thus enclosed lands in Aldenham; and kept possession of that estate a long time, so we find his successor, Lawrence, doing the same in Hendon; which manor had long been in the church of Westminster before, and where a long green lane still records the memory of that famous abbot, who inclosed the lands adjoining. Had the compromise (by which is meant this quitting claim named in the deed) meant the manor, I think the word *manor*, and not *land*, would have been the just expression; because, when we say the abbey was possessed of such a manor, this does not argue that the abbot and monks were intitled to all the rents issuing out of the lands, but only to the rights and privileges of lordship; which was a degree of primary and original ownership over such lands: which the lords demised under peculiar terms and conditions to lessees and tenants. There was very little land perfectly free or allodial, and the general tenure was by lease for lives, or by copy of court-roll, with villanage; and very little was in demesne, or paid an annual rent to the lord. The feudal law was at this time in its full strength and vigour; and, on any failure of male heir, or of the conditions in the grant, the land was liable to a forfeiture, and the lord could resume: so insecure was a title to land in those days: and hence it is that in the Norman reigns we find so many confirmations successively made to the same persons; or to their heirs and successors of the same lands and possessions; and these, either by precept or writ from the king, or
other

other lords, to put the feoffees or their heirs and successors into seizin after they had been disseised; or to keep them in seisin undisturbed; or else by charter of express confirmation (a).

This manor of Aldenham was granted soon after the dissolution to Henry Stepney; and his heir sold it to Sir Edward Carey, who lived here in queen Elizabeth's reign, and his arms are now to be seen engraved on a stone affixed to the front wall of a pigeon-house situate in the farm-yard near to the church. This gentleman's son, named Henry, died at Theobald's Park in 1633; having received some grievous hurt by the fall of a scaffold, there erected, at a celebrated festivity. His son was Lucius Carey, made secretary of state by Charles I. and slain at Newbury in 1643, fighting for his master and sovereign. In 1640, he sold this manor, as it was said, to aid the royal cause. He bears a most singularly high character in Clarendon's History (b). It was sold to Sir Job Harby, one of the commissioners of the customs under Charles I. And his son, Sir Erasmus Harby, sold it, about 1660, to Denzel, lord Holles, of Ifield in Suffex. His son, Sir Francis Holles, lived here, and succeeded to the title, and died in March 1690, aged 63, and was buried in this church. His London house was in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His son, named Denzel, succeeded to his titles and estates; a very promising youth; but he died in a fever, in 1693, aged eighteen years and nine months, and was buried here also. Being unmarried, he was the last descendant of this branch of the family: his title became extinct: and his estates devolved to his next heir, John, duke of Newcastle, who was grandson and heir to John Holles, elder brother of Denzel, the first lord Holles, of Ifield, and cousin to the deceased. The said John, duke of Newcastle's youngest sister, named lady Grace, (her father being earl of Clare,) married Sir Thomas Pelham, of Laughton in Suffex, created lord Pelham in 1706; and, dying in 1712, he left by her two sons, viz. Thomas duke of Newcastle, the zealous friend of the Hanover succession, and most eminent statesman in the reigns of George the 1st and 2d. and another son, Henry, Chancellor of the Exchequer under George II. and, John duke of Newcastle, dying without issue male, he left all his estates to his sister's son, Thomas, afterwards duke of Newcastle, now his adopted heir; and this manor of Aldenham, among many other. And here he pulled down a large mansion-house about 70 years ago, and sold the materials, and forty

(a) Madox's Form. Anglic.

(b) Vol. I. p. 340.

years since sold the manor to Mrs. Vandewall. The advowson had ever accompanied the manor.

In Watford the manor and the tithes had been among the earliest endowments of the abbey; and were given by Offa. At the dissolution, or soon after, the care of these was committed to John lord Ruffel, then living at Chenies, in the county of Bucks. And his memory is still preserved, in a certain farm called by his name but since adorned with a fair house, and all convenient accommodations; and inhabited by the lady Capels, sisters of the present earl of Essex. The manor of Watford was granted about the end of Elizabeth's reign to the lord chancellor Egerton, baron of Ellesmere, about the time when he acquired Ashridge. And in his family did this manor remain until sold to the earl of Essex, in 1760, or near that time.

The manor of Cassiobury was under the care of the lord Ruffel, and granted, in 1546, to Richard Morison or Morysine, Esq. and here ended the stewardship of lord Ruffel. He had received a grant of Tavistoke in 1540, and might have an expectation of obtaining this manor also; for Woeburn was not granted to him till the first of Edward VI. (1548) and Thorney two years after. Morison had been bred at Oxford (a); and, for his learning and ingenuity had been recommended to cardinal Pole, and brought by him into the notice of Henry, who knighted him. He was employed with Sir Philip Hoby in several embassies to the emperor, and ever approved himself eminent both in ability and integrity. He was rewarded by king Henry VIII. with this gift. This place had probably no conspicuous person as an inhabitant, or indeed any house or dwelling fit for such, before this time. Morison began a very handsome structure, but went abroad into Italy before the same was near finished, and died at Strasbourg in 1556. His lady was Bridget, daughter of John lord Hussy, and after his decease she married, in 1561, Henry, earl of Rutland. This earl died in 1563; and then she married Francis, earl of Bedford, who died in 1585. By these she had no issue; and died in 1600, aged 75, having one son by Morison named Charles.

This Sir Charles Morison was constituted sheriff of Herts in 1579, married Dorothy, the daughter of Nicolas Clerk, Esq. and had by her a son named Charles, and daughter Bridget, married to Robert, earl of Suffex. This Charles died in 1599, one year before his mother,

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon.

and was succeeded in his estates by his son Charles. This Charles was made a baronet in 1611; a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. in 1625, and served in Parliament for Hertford in 1628, and died in August of that year, aged 41; leaving an only child and daughter, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of Arthur lord Capel of Little Hadham. Being an heiress, she brought with her the patrimony of her father: viz. the manor of Cashiobury; the tithes of Watford; the manor of Park, in St. Stephen's parish; and King's Langley park; which was the site and park of the old palace at that place. In Watford parish is a small manor called Carland belonging to Merton Coll. in Oxford, and among its earliest endowments.

Rickmansworth was among the first donations made to this abbey; and, by the name of Pynefield, which was given by Offa's son, was meant this present parish; for it is there and afterwards explained by specifying the four or five several manors which now lie within this limit; so that Pynefield probably extended at that time over the present parish, at least over all the high land situate therein, and was so called from the abundance of pines there growing, which were the natural and indigenous growth of this island; though the fir is denied to be such by Cæsar.

The first time we meet with the name of Rickmersworth is in the age of the Conqueror in Domesday; where it is assessed at fifteen hides, and the woodland was capable of feeding 1200 hogs. The fifteen hides argued the quantity of land under tillage; as finding employment for fifteen teams; and the latter implies that there was a large space of ground covered with wood and timber. The name of Rickmersworth, signified and denominated the low land(a), situate near the rivers, as the word Pynefield implied the high ground and upland part. At what time it was laid out as a parish is not known; but that was a work of the Saxons, soon after they received Christianity, and parishes were generally made and laid out conformable to the limits of the manors. As manors, therefore, were prior to parishes, they were probably the work of the Britons; and the word is truly to be derived from the British *manor*, an hamlet, farm, abode; and not from the Norman *manoir*, as is generally supposed. And, if this etymology be just and right, it gives a reason why the names of some manors are so obsolete and obscure as to be unintel-

(a) Worth signifies a place situate at the junction of two waters or rivers.

ligible, and the meaning is to be sought for in the British tongue, and prior to the Saxon times. There is just reason to think that the Britons, after the improvements made by the Romans; were found, on the Saxon invasion, in a state of civilization; with their lands cultivated, their habitations convenient, with great command of men and cattle about them. This was the condition of every great man, though it was not the general appearance of the country; and what is this, but the condition of the Saxon chiefs, and then of the Normans? with this difference only, that the Saxons and Normans were more warlike, and more obliged to defend their new conquests by arms, and to establish new laws and more regular order of government, than what had prevailed before. Now, although this may occur in many manors and places, yet here we find nothing but Saxon; and, when Egfrid gave Pynefield to his father's church, he gave it in a cultivated state, and capable of yielding a rent. In Domesday it is valued at 20l. a year; including a mill whose rent was 5s. 4d. a year, and a fishery worth 4s.

This donation is said to have contained at that time five manors; and there were five, specified by name in the time of Henry VI. when Butler attempted to defraud the abbot, and there are five manors at this time so held and acknowledged; and probably the very same as were comprehended in Pynefield, though the same may have suffered some change in name. The present manors are, that of Rickmerfworth; of the moor; of Crosley or Croxley; of Micklesfield, and the manor of the rectory or church. All these were held and possessed by the abbey, from the time of Offa in 793 to 1539, 746 years. What was their state and destination after the surrender I will now shew.

The manor of Rickmerfworth claims to be paramount; not only over the other four, but also over other pretended manors, and is very extensive.

The manor-house called the bury is situate near the church, and has in demesne a very fine park situate at a distance, and at the North East end of the town. The first owner I can find of this house and manor is Thomas Fotherley; who died, as appears by a sepulchral inscription, in 1624; and his wife, named Tabitha, in 1584; at which time they probably dwelt in this house. His son was Sir Thomas Fotherley, knt. and one of the privy chamber to Charles I. and his son succeeded in this estate, and was in the commission of the peace in the time of Charles II.

The manor of the Moor comprehends the East and South part of the parish, and has been called in the old records the manor of Bachworth; because this latter is included in it. This manor has in it a famous mansion and park called Moor Park, (of near 500 acres,) which has been the seat and property of divers famous persons. The first inhabitant whom I can find there was the above named Butler, knt. who had held this manor, and the others contiguous to it, on such easy terms, and for so long a space, that he almost forgot to acknowledge any lord; as was related in the life of Wheathampstead. After him it became the property of George Nevil, the great and magnificent archbishop of York, and he lived here and used to entertain Edward IV. when king; who frequently came to this place from Windsor, where he delighted to make his abode. This Nevil was the younger brother of Richard Earl of Warwick, and partook of the favour or dislike of Edward in the same proportion as his said brother. Accordingly, in the year 1472, and soon after the earl had been defeated and slain at Gladmere-heath, near Barnet, the following stratagem was laid to ensnare and ruin this archbishop. He was received into favour, and was hunting with the king at Windsor, ' when he ' made relation to him of some extraordinary kind of game, where- ' with he was wont to solace himself at a house he had built and fur- ' nished sumptuously, called the Moore in Hertfordshire. The king ' seeming desirous to be partaker of this sport, appointed a day when ' he would come hither and hunt, and make merry with him. Here- ' upon, the archbishop taking his leave, got him home, and thinking ' to entertain the king in the best manner it was possible for him, he ' sent for much plate that he had hid during the wars, and also bor- ' rowed much of his friends. The deer which the king hunted being ' thus brought into the toils; the day before his appointed time he ' sent for the archbishop, commanding him, all excuses set apart, ' to repair presently to him at Windsor. As soon as he came he was ' arrested of treason; all his money, plate, movable goods, to the ' value of twenty thousand pounds, seized upon for the king; and him- ' self, a long space after, was kept prisoner at Calais and Guisnes; ' during which time, the king took upon himself all the profits and ' temporalities of the bishopric. Among other things, then taken ' from him, he had a mitre of inestimable value by reason of many ' rich stones wherewith it was adorned; that the king broke, and ' made thereof a crown for himself. This calamity happened unto ' him in the year 1472. By intercession and intreaty of his friends, and ' much

‘ much ado, he obtained his liberty in the year 1476; and, a little while
 ‘ enjoying the same, with grief and anguish of mind as was thought,
 ‘ died at Blithlaw, coming from York; and was buried in the min-
 ‘ ster there, aged forty-one.

This fact happened at Moore-park, and is related on the undoubted authority of Goodwin, bishop of Llandaff(a). This manor thus fell to the crown, and here it remained, until Henry VII. in the first year of his reign, gave the same to John Vere, earl of Oxford, who led the van at Bosworth-field, and contributed much to the service of Henry in gaining the victory of that day; and Henry, in reward thereof, conferred on him this manor, with remainder to the issue of his countess Margaret, who had been the daughter of Richard, the late earl of Warwick, and niece to the archbishop aforesaid. How long it continued in this family is unknown; but in 1617 James I. granted it by patent to one Woodward, at the request of the earl of Bedford, and in trust for him. In 1626, the earl sold it to William, earl of Pembroke. In 1655, it past to Sir Richard Franklyn, knt. who in 1660 was made a baronet, and represented this county in 1661; and in 1672 he sold it to Sir William Bucknal, of Oxe. The Veres sold the house and park in 1600 to Robert Carey, third son of Lord Hunsdon; who was created lord Cary of Lepington in 1620, and earl of Monmouth in 1625, and who died at Moore-park in 1639. His son Henry succeeded to his honours of fortune, and, dying in 1661, was buried in this parish-church. Soon after, this feat was sold to Sir John Franklyn, the father of Sir Richard. This Sir Richard sold it to Thomas, earl of Ossory, (eldest son to the duke of Ormond,) which Thomas was called to the house of Peers in 1666, by the style and title of lord Butler of(b) Moore-park. He commanded a squadron of ships in the great sea-fight with the Dutch in 1672(c); and soon after sold this feat and park to James Fitzroy, duke of Monmouth. At his decease, in 1685, it came to his daughter Anne, daughter of the earl of Buccleugh; and she married, secondly,

(a) De Præfulibus, edit. 1615.

(b) This lord Butler had married a lady of high rank and fortune in Holland, and descended from Maurice, prince of Orange; and under the direction of this lady, and agreeably to her taste, here were laid out very splendid gardens, at this time quite new in England, but equalled by none since in the pleasantness and expence thereof, and celebrated by Sir William Temple.

(c) In this year the following gentlemen of this county were made baronets: Sir John Keate, of the Hoo; Sir Job Harby, of Aldenham; Sir Thomas Hewit, of Pishobury; Sir Heneage Fetherston, of Blakefware.

the lord Cornwallis of that time, Before her death, she sold it to Hoskin Stiles, Esq. who built the present house. His heir or executors sold it to George lord Anson ; and his heir to Sir Lawrence Dundas in 1765 ; and his son hath sold it to Thomas Rouse, Esq.!

The manor of Micklefield now belongs to a family named Skidmore.

The manor of the rectory, together with the tithes, was granted away to some person, who exchanged the same with the bishop of London. And to that see this manor and tithes do still belong, and also the patronage of the church.

The manor of Crokefly, or Crosley, continued in the crown until queen Elizabeth granted the same to Dr. Caius, to make part of the endowment of his new college, still bearing his name at Cambridge. This still belongs to the said college, and here is yet standing the great barn built on this manor by Moot, and now about 300 years old.

When it is said that these manors and estates were granted, it is implied generally, that it was for a compensation, though the same be not mentioned. But there is ground sufficient to shew, that many persons who had demands on the king for wages, &c. were recompensed by some of these grants : thus, in Codicote, the manor of Sifivernes was granted to John Penn, who was groom of the privy chamber, and barber and porter to the king. This man had married the daughter and heir of one Chevall, who had for three or four generations held the lands under lease from the abbot ; and now the manor was given as a gratuity. And in Shephall, the manor, which had been an early gift to the church, as appears by Domesday, was given by Henry VIII. to one George Nodes. He had been tenant of the land under the abbot ; and had served the king as serjeant of the buck-hounds ; and in this quality served Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. He died in 1564, but his descendants lived here in good credit until the year 1688.

As for the distant estates, little can be said of them, and little can be discovered : with regard to Winslow I find the following remark.

‘ The manor of Bigging, with that of Winslow, Shipton, Greneborough, and Little Horwood, were leased in the 31st of Henry VIII. to Richard Breame, Esq. yeoman of the household, and Margaret his wife, during their lives, and to the longest liver of them. This lease was of the yearly value of 52l. 4s. 7d. besides the parsonage of Wynslow, Greneborough, and Little Horwood, valued at 29l. 7s. 8d. The said lessees paid a yearly reserved rent of 16l. os. 1d. The commissioners under Philip and Mary say, they find the manor
‘ of

‘ of Bigging to be granted to Benedict Lee, Esq. by letters patent dated June 28, in 1 Edward VI. for twenty-one years after the expiration of the former ; and Margaret was then living ; and the said parsonage given to the clergy by act of Parliament (a).’

The said commissioners valued Bigging at 10l. a year, and at twenty years purchase, and sold it to Lee at that rate. The lead, bells, and advowson, to be excepted (b).

The manor of Combes, in Suffex, was granted to the lord Windsor of that time ; but is now the property of Sir Thomas Bridger.

This lord Windsor had a grant also of the manor of Houndeslowe, parcel of the manor of Hampton Court, and formerly annexed to the priory of Houndeslowe ; this was rated in 1557 to him at the clear yearly value of 41l. 3s. 4d. and at twenty-two years purchase.

The rectory of Hockliffe in Bucks was valued at one year’s purchase ; viz. 16l. 9s. 6d. and sold to one Henham of London (c).

Among the earliest and largest of the donations with which this abbey was endowed, was the manor or manors contained in the parish of Luton, together with the tithes. These all remained with the abbey until the dissolution, at which time the same was obtained by Sir Thomas Pope, and settled on his new endowment of Trinity College, Oxford. The president and fellows are still the lords of the same ; and Luton is one of their best estates. They leased it formerly to the family of the Napiers ; and in 1764 their interest therein was sold to John earl of Bute.

The manor of Eastwell had long been the property of the abbey ; but a family named Herbert and Fitzherbert had been the inhabitants, and probably the lessees. Eastwell was now granted to Sir Thomas Moyle, of North Cadbury, in the county of Somerset, knt. and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations ; and his eldest daughter and co-heir, being married to Sir Thomas Finch, of Burmarche (d), in Kent, brought Eastwell to the Finches. Of Sir Thomas was descended his son Sir Moyle Finch, who in the reign of Elizabeth was lord of this place ; and, having married the sole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, knt. treasurer of the chamber, vice-chamberlain of the

(a) The present owner of this extensive manor is Lownds Selby, Esq.

(b) Les Rätez, p. 607, 147.

(c) Les Rätez.

(d) Burmarche was a grant to Sir Thomas Finch, and had been part or parcel of the lands belonging to the late dissolved monastery of St. Austin’s in Canterbury. But Sir Thomas Finch was originally of Netherfield, Iklefem, and Marle, in Suffex, near Hastings and Winchelsea.

household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster to queen Elizabeth, and also of her privy council, laid the foundation of great fortune and great honours. This lady, in 1628, was ennobled by the title of viscountess Maidston, and then of countess of Winchelsea. Her son was the first earl of Winchelsea, and her third grandson became earl of Nottingham, and was seated at Ravenston in Bucks, and purchased large estates near Daventry. Eastwell was given by Daniel, the late earl of Winchester, to the Hon. Finch Hatton, the eldest son of his younger brother Edward Finch, (though the same was the original estate of the family.

Winchelsea

Given by Sir John of Albogay. 212 page 4

(Richard Finch)

P A R T III.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THUS, reader, have I led thee through a period of one thousand years; from the rise and origin, through the progress and maturity, and to the end and downfall of these monastic institutions; for, though I profess to give the history of one alone, yet they are so much alike, that the general rule and œconomy of all are exhibited herein. And in perusal of this account it is impossible not to observe, and to compare in our mind, the difference of the two branches of the church, the monastic clergy and the parochial or secular. The first were possessed of authority and power, of affluence and riches, of high rank and dignity; while the latter were ever low and depressed, with a bare subsistence, with a tenure only for life, subject to numberless indignities and oppressions from the rich lords and potent laity, and at too great a distance from their heads and leaders, the bishops, to be benefited by them, or even noticed; not to mention the envy and calumny they were made to suffer from the monks; and the frauds, encroachments, usurpations, and impositions, from the friers and mendicant clergy.

Y y y

From

From the beginning of monachism we see these bodies supported and countenanced by a foreign head, and all their allegiance and attachment directed to that principle, and contributing to enable the pope to govern this kingdom; or, at least, under the pretence of guarding religion, to have at command a vast multitude of subjects and dependents; and to extract from the people great sums of money, to be sent to Rome. We see William the Conqueror raising and elevating the bishops, and making them more useful than before to the new polity and government of the state; but no advantage was derived by him or by them to the parochial clergy. We see in the subsequent reigns multitudes of monkish foundations, as one of the chief fruits and effects of the crusades. And under the weak reign of Henry III. we may see the court and kingdom almost wholly governed by them and their leaders. The Edwards, with great wisdom and just policy, set bounds both to their riches and to their power; yet they saw them too beneficial, in many respects, to wish them suppressed and extinguished; and, beside the many useful applications made of their wealth, which I have mentioned, there was another which rendered them of singular and necessary benefit; and that was in being the surety and pledge in borrowing great sums of money; an use which even the king experienced and resorted to; but which was absolutely necessary in the infancy of trade, and when few men had any capitals in money. These bodies, having perpetuity and succession, and above all a character of honesty and probity, were the best security on all bonds and obligations; especially when we consider, that landed property could give no just security, when every man's title was bad, and he could not bind his heir or successor. And in these bodies alone did men find security for moneys lent or engaged for. Such then is one of the great temporal uses and benefits of religion to the community; and so false is that opinion, that men will do their duty, and fill up a virtuous conduct from a motive of fear only.

This beneficial use kept them up in the times of the Edwards; and continued to do so, until other securities began to be found, by enabling the owners of land to perpetuate their interest therein, and to exclude the lord of the fee. When Henry VII. made a law to enable men to devise their land by their will and testament, they began to acquire a new and permanent interest; and less resort was had to the punctuality and integrity of the religious.

Indeed, it is but just to praise these institutions wherever utility appears; and, considering the times, they doubtless did accomplish many

many works, and perform many services of a public nature, which none but corporate institutions could perform. And, therefore, it is weakness and folly in us of these days, to harbour and continue that calumny, which Henry's times, for selfish and mercenary reasons, set on foot. No man is benefited by keeping up the slander; and no man's title to their property is injured by professing the truth. At the same time, I wish not to see them revive in any part of the world; but to practise, from their example, whatever had in it any religious or moral merit, or was found useful to the rest of mankind; and to bury in oblivion all and every misdeed they might be guilty of. They never could have stood their ground so long, if they had not brought with them many civil advantages. And to this purpose, their religious character, however deficient, greatly contributed. And they will ever stand an unrivalled instance of that great truth, that no government can be conducted without the aid of religion; that no obedience will be paid from fear only, but it must arise for conscience sake, and from an inward principle of duty to God.

The word of God, and the knowledge of gospel truths, is justly called light; a name most appropriate to the sun of righteousness. But how nearly was this light extinguished, or at least how greatly obscured, when ignorance in the Popish church was countenanced, encouraged, and established, *ex industria!* and nothing can speak louder the craft of the rulers, and the blindness of the ruled, than their doctrine of transubstantiation; which, though of all doctrines the least able to reconcile itself to the reason and understanding of men; yet was maintained with the most ardent zeal and ardour by the Popish doctors. It was the most unintelligible of all doctrines; for, it requires many logical steps, and a long train of rational deduction, to prove the connection between eating a consecrated wafer and the depravity and corruption of human nature. So little instruction was there to shew the want, and the use, and necessity, of a sacrifice for sin; and in what manner this sacrifice was represented by a wafer, though consecrated; that the worshiper took up the belief of a charm as the most ready and obvious sense of the rite; or, with more faith, conceived it to be a provision (*viaticum*) for the journey of death.

The aim of the church of Rome in teaching and propagating this mysterious doctrine, was to inspire awe and respect; to bend the minds of men to the most passive submission; and to make them acquiesce in all mysteries, whether contained in the word of God or

suggested only by pious men. It must also be thought highly probable, that this doctrine of wonders found a more easy reception for this reason ; because it was first opened and encouraged, and then established in Times when the Rosicrucians flourished (a) and the transmutation of metals was sedulously studied. When we reflect that these pretenders to chemistry, and these teachers of Popish miracles lived in the same ages, no doubt can be made on this conclusion, that they gave mutual aid and encouragement to each other.

At the reformation, when the Sun of righteousness rose again, and diffused anew the light of gospel truth, we find the great promoters of that work preparing the way to salvation by instruction. They framed a catechism, and directed this short exposition of the Christian faith to be taught to the youth of all parishes. They enjoined preaching, not only to dispel the mists of ignorance, but to illumine the ways of duty, in perfect conformity to the orders of Jesus Christ, whose direction it was to preach the gospel to every creature. (Mark XVI. xv.) They laboured in a peculiar manner to rectify the notion of the Eucharist ; and to this purpose they published the sermons of abbot Ælfric (b) from the Saxon into English, in order to shew, that the doctrine of the reformers on that point was the same as had been taught by the English church, three hundred years before transubstantiation had its rise or was thought of ; and that the church of that time taught as the reformers did, that the Eucharist was a memorial only of the great sacrifice for sin made by Christ, and of the spiritual benefits derived from that act of the Saviour.

A national church is the civil institution for teaching true religion ; and, whenever writers have spoken of the alliance between church and state, that expression is suitable only to those times, when the church and the state formed two distinct, separate, independent, bodies, united by some foederal bond : whereas, at the Reformation, when by a masterly policy the independence of the church was destroyed, and the same was made subordinate to the state, no longer to act as ‘ lord of the heritage,’ but as teachers of the faith, the church was, by new settlements, so interwoven with the state, that instead of being, as before, its rival, or its engine and tool, it became now the first and chief establishment, calculated to support good and just government, and to co-operate with the magistracy in promoting obedience to all lawful

(a) Raymund Lully, and others.

(b) Printed by Day, 1565. See p. 24 of this History.

authority, as one of the duties that belongeth to the character of a Christian. The church was then made a principal branch of the civil establishment; its province and duty was, in the first place, to preach the faith in Christ, and inculcate the moral precepts of the gospel, and then to press the observance of those great duties, of justice, charity, sobriety, and chastity, which tend to bind and unite men together in society. The church was then made the public instructor, to restrain the beginnings of vice, and to plant the seeds of virtue and truth; just as the laws of the state were meant to coerce and to punish the crimes of the hand. The church acts by the principles of religion, the state by the force of law and authority. The church acts as the soul of the state, to give every member its proper motion and due direction. If modern writers speak of alliance, they can mean by it no other conjunction than something analagous to soul and body.

But it is not in the duties of each wherein this union consists; let its revenues be considered and its patronage. Where, in the first, more than a moiety, or one half, of the church revenues, as once enjoyed, is at present in the hands of the laity; and, of the last, more than seven parts in eight are vested in the gentry (a) of this kingdom. An effectual bar this against the return of Popery; but constituting a sacred trust in the present patrons; and such as not only brings them nigher to the altar of God, but makes them responsible for the due performance of the duties belonging to that trust.

The first foundations of the Church of England were laid in the sincere faith, and unshaken principles, of the bishops who submitted to martyrdom; but it received its stability, and temporal strength, from the wisdom and sagacity, as well as piety, of Elizabeth and her ministers. We have seen this church, though reduced to a few men in the ministerial office, struggling and contending, for 250 years, against the malice of Rome, and the efforts of a superstitious zeal. But, though it hath stood safe in time past against all the assaults of superstition, and the dangers of too much religion; yet future dangers seem to threaten it from opinions that have too little religion. The dangers and terrors of superstition are giving way to those from a contrary and opposite quarter; infidelity now threatens; and the self-conceit of human vanity, and pretended self-sufficiency, almost exclude revealed religion, or any help or dependance on Heaven.

(a) That is, all livings, except those in the gift of the king and his chancellor, the bishops, colleges, and other public bodies.

But,

But, if any men can love the darkness of infidelity rather than the light of faith, let them cast their eyes towards that ruined kingdom, where all those principles have had full scope ; where may be seen not only the full-blown blossoms, but the matured fruits, of infidelity : where men, having cast aside all belief in God, and all sense of duty, are indulging, without remorse or shame, all the worst passions of a corrupt and depraved nature.

When we contemplate the reduced number of clergy, and the more reduced state of their revenues, as settled at the Reformation, it strikes our observation also, that their labour, and the duties enjoined on them, are threefold more than they were prior to that event. And, though their number is not above 8 or 9000, yet is there no other order, or rank of men, in the kingdom, so ill paid or requited for their labours and services. But they are men who derive consolation from the certainty of future retribution ; and that from the hand of a just Master. They are men with whom poverty is honour and content is riches.

The Church of England, which is the civil establishment for the teaching of religion and instruction of the people, is formed on the best plan that was ever devised for that purpose ; but it is not so extensive in its influence as the wants of the people require. There are numbers of populous villages and new towns arising, which are not provided with any religious helps from the ecclesiastic establishment. The spiritual wants of the people point out that new churches should be built, large parishes be divided, and new parishes made ; that chapels of ease be made parochial, and more clergy be fixed in the new churches. It might be contrived, that all places of worship set up and opened by the Dissenters might yet be served by the clergy of the church. The civil power in this country could make no objection to the building new churches ; and creating new parishes ; but approve it, for this reason, because parochial government, and all the duties of parish-officers, is much easier conducted, and with more certain effect, within small limits, than in large.

This plan of improvement might receive great helps from the governors of queen Anne's bounty ; with some new powers of extending the uses of that charity, and of quickening its beneficial intentions. The approbation of Parliament would adjust all jarring interests ; and enable the people, who live now in gross ignorance and neglect, to receive instruction in religion, and, along with it, many civil improvements ; for, this is a certain consequence, that civilization and useful
arts

arts follow the abode of a regular minister and a fixed church. This increase of the clergy in number is seen to be necessary in all increasing towns and villages; large parishes in the country require it, the wants of the people demand it, all good and pious men would promote it; and, whenever the several interested parties would consent and unite in the work, Parliament would readily give it authority and confirmation.

The people of England have, by common right, a just and legal claim to the worship of God as established by law; and, in order to communicate that right, and enable them to enjoy it, more churches must be built, and more clergy ordained to serve them. When the monastic branch of the church was lopped off, several of their best duties and cares were thrown on the parochial clergy, who, at the time when instruction was enjoined and made a principal part of their duty, were thought too few for the work; and now, when the people are doubled in numbers, and ignorance, error, and licentious morals, more prevalent, most certainly their spiritual wants are more urgent and pressing; especially when principles most dangerous to true religion and good morals, as well as to legal government and just order, are spreading abroad under the most specious pretences, the present number of clergy are unequal to the task of right instruction; and, as the danger is greater as ill principles gain ground, more combatants to oppose that danger must be provided.

A P P E N D I X N° I.

See Page 132.

EGO Offa Rex, huic donationi meæ, Signum Crucis impono.
 Ego Egfridus, paternæ munificentiae consentiens, subscripsi.
 Ego Higbertus, Archiepiscopus, consensi & subscripsi.
 Ego Ceolphwus, Episcopus, consensi & subscripsi.
 Signum Manus Alhmundi Abbatis.
 Signum Beonnani Abbatis.
 Signum Brordani Patricii.
 Signum Binnani Principis.
 Signum Eadgari Ducis.
 Signum Cuthberti Ducis.

Another of king Ethelred in 996.

Ego Ethelredus, Anglorum Basileus, hanc Chartam scripsi.
 Ego Ælfricus, Dorovern. Arch. Ep. Signum Crucis imposui.
 Ego Ældulfus Ebor. Arch. Ep. consentaneus extiti.
 Ego Ælfeah Winton. Episcop. similiter Assensum præbui.
 Ego Wulstan Epif. consensi.
 Ego Elfeah Epif. corroboravi.
 Ego Athulph Epif. consignavi.
 Ego Wulfige Epif. consolidavi.
 Ego Ordbright Epif. configillavi.
 Ego Godwinus Epif. confirmavi.
 Ego Ealdred Epif. conclusi.
 Ego Elsthyrth, Regina.
 Ego Elfwearð Abbas, & cæteri plurimi.

A P P E N D I X N° II.

See Pages 134. 144.

STATUTES, on reforming the Monks of the *Black Order*, by Greg. IXth, then Pontiff, in the Year 1238, and to be observed by the said Monks.

That no one be admitted a Monk till he is twenty years of age. That, on hearing the bell, they shall repair, without delay, into the abbey, leaving and setting aside any business then in hand; that, in the several monasteries, there shall be a general confession every month; that, on the first Sunday of the month, they shall communicate in the body and blood of Christ: and, if any one shall think proper to abstain, that he do signify the cause to the abbot, and approach or abstain as he shall direct. That the rigid discipline of the order be observed, and silence kept in the church, in the hall, in the cloister, and in the dormitory; any transgression to be punished according to the rules. That all candidates be often instructed in the three chief vows, of obedience, of continence, and of poverty: and that, if they are not willing to comply, they may leave at the end of the year; or, if they conform, that they be admitted and receive the benediction. That the office of prior, or dean, or other ruler, be conferred gratis, without gift or compact; if any one shall accept, on such terms, or at the recommendation of any layman, let him be deemed simoniacal. That no prior be set aside without a just cause, as being a dilapidator of the houses, or disobedient, or rebellious. That no monk be possessed of more offices or priories than one, nor be a monk in more abbeys than one. That no monk should dwell in any priory or in any grange alone, but another should be joined with him; and, if there is not maintenance for two, then let the first be recalled to the cloister. That no abbot, when he giveth a charge or superintendence, or the receipt of any rents, to any monk, do make a bargain with him, or take sureties of him. That when any prior, officer, or monk, having temporal charge, or when any bailiff be sick, and through infirmity prevented, that such an one do make up his accounts, and give a clear confession of all matters under his care, and resign the same to the abbot. With regard to the diet and cloathing, we direct and enjoin that all the monks be cloathed in one sort of cloth, or garment; and all the private eating in the chambers be utterly forbidden. But let them be regularly dieted in the same refectory, with

the same food cooked for all, with the same sort of bread, and the same drink ; unless they are confined in the infirmary, or dine at the abbot's table. And that the hour of refreshment, according to the strict rule, be at twelve o'clock during winter ; at other times let the rule be observed as therein directed, and with such moderate diet as is prescribed ; and let no one cause delicacies to be prepared for him, or accept of any thing that is presented : and, if any present of that sort is made, let it be carried to the superior, who will provide that it be used by such as, having a weak stomach, cannot eat the common fare. In the infirmary, or the refectory, let there be used no cup of gold or silver, or with a foot or a rim of gold or silver ; nor let any monk be possessed of a belt or a knife that hath the least ornament of gold or silver. In the infirmary let no person eat flesh-meat, unless it be a monk, or convert who shall be sick, or some person who for bodily weakness shall have been sent to the infirmary ; and let no monk, whether in the house or out and abroad, eat any flesh, but according to the rule, *viz.* in sickness. Such refreshments of a flesh diet, as have been accustomed to be used in some monasteries, we do utterly forbid ; and much more any pudding, sausage, or composition, made of stale meat. And if any abbot or monk on a journey shall be compelled, through necessity, to eat flesh, let him turn aside to some religious house, if near ; otherwise, let him take such consultation for his infirmity, that he give no offence to any other person. But, if any one shall presume to eat flesh contrary to the above, for the first and second offence let him be subject to the stated discipline ; if he offend a third time, let him, on the fourth and sixth following holy days, fast on bread and water. If an abbot himself shall offend, in this case, let him, on the second, fourth, and sixth holy days, be content with bread and water ; and, if he persist in his practice, and refuseth the monitions of his diocesan or visitors, let him be deprived. Let the sick and infirm brethren be provided with what is suitable, according to the rule ; and, if the master of the infirmary be found deficient in his care, let him be reprov'd by his abbot or prior ; and an abbot or prior, when the visitors shall come, let him receive, for his offence, condign punishment. We farther direct, that shoes, and proper clothing, be provided, and that no money be allowed the monks instead thereof. Let the monks appear in their common and religious habits, and carry themselves in a handsome manner in the cloister, and when they go abroad ; nor let them return without their cowl and regular habit. Let them not have any great coat or upper garment, coloured ; nor let any monk presume to ride with a saddle of less cost than is allowed ; nor more adorned with a superfluous ornament of nails. Let them have no spurs, either gilded or silvered ; nor the least ornament of iron on the bridles ; nor let them use gloves with fingers distinct, nor boots of a peaked form, or sharp pointed at the toe.

Let no one use any coat of burnet, or of wild skins, or any linen shirt, or other covering of linen ; but let them sleep in their clothes, and girded, as the rule directs, and have no rents in their clothes. Let no prior, or superior

prior of the cloister, or any monk, appropriate to himself any chamber, or horse, or domestic, or furniture for a horse, or make any contention for the use of the same; but, if it be necessary that he go abroad, let him be provided by his superior. We do enjoin that all abbots and priors, when they lend or change the security, or borrow, they do, in the presence of the majority present, signify the sum, who are the creditors, and when the money is due and payable; and that the state of the houses may be the better known, we ordain that every three months, in the presence of the abbot or prior, their officials do exhibit an account of all their receipts and payments with exactness and fidelity. The abbots and priors, twice in a year, *viz.* on the first of October and first of April, having collected all the rents, shall lay before the senior monks, or the visitors, a full account of the state of the house. But, if any abbot or prior shall, with intention of fraud, suppress any great debts, let him be removed from his employ. But, if the abbot or prior shall contract a debt, the monastery shall not be bound, only so far as it shall be proved to have been useful or beneficial to the monastery.

Let no abbot or prior dare to give to secular persons any priory, or grange, or pension, or a monk's allowance. Let no one sell, or exchange, or alienate, any pension, nor give it, except in the manner directed by the rule; but let him know that all alienation is utterly forbidden. Let monks that acquire property be excommunicated by their abbots; and if, at their death, they be found to have property, let them be deprived of church-burial, or be interred as one of the vulgar. Let no one, except for the purposes of an office committed to his trust, be possessed of a chest, or box, with a key, without permission; and, as often as the abbot shall require, let the key be given up to him; and, if he keeps one without permission, let him be deemed a person having property; and sentence of excommunication shall be solemnly proclaimed once a year in the chapter-house against proprietors. The abbot, who knowingly shall consent to any monks having property, shall be suspended for a time; and what is understood to be property by the rule of St. Benedict, is, whatever any one receives in his own name, or that of the monastery, that is not lent, nor let to hire, nor deposited in trust. We also farther enjoin, that no abbot do grant to any kinsman, whether in want or not, any of the immovables of the church; nor present him with the movables. Whenever any office is sung, let certain persons be charged with the care of the cloister, the refectory, the dormitory, and the choir; and let no woman enter any of the said places, nor the choir, while singing is performing, unless by chance it may happen that some women are passing through the cloister or the choir at the time of a dedication or grant made to any church, or on the principal festival of the church, or at the funeral obsequies of some deceased person, except women of high rank, and who patronize the abbey, and to them leave shall be granted, only at certain times, by the abbot; and with exception also to such persons as shall have procured leave of entrance from the apostolic see. And if any abbot or prior shall di-

rect his official to admit a woman, the abbot or prior shall fast one day on bread and water. Moreover, abbots and priors, if they shall have to ride with them any secular servants, either of their own family or of the convent, let them be of mature age, and habited in a decent, not a wanton, manner. We also will and command, that, in every abbey or priory, the abbot or prior do take order for hospitality and almsgiving, in proportion to the ability of the house; a certain quantity for the constant poor, and more for the stranger. And we forbid, on pain of eternal damnation, any possession or rents, given for alms, to be perverted to other uses. And, because no fraud is to be committed in the almsgiving, no person shall conceal any part of his victuals left at table, or his old clothes, or old shoes, with intent to defraud; but shall give up all these to the almoner, for him to bestow on the poor: nor shall any thing new be given to any monk who shall not yield up the old. We also strictly forbid, that leave be given to any monk to go abroad, or out of his house, to see secular matters, except very rarely, and then for a reasonable cause, and with suitable company; and they shall say their *hours* (a) by the way, and be provided with books for the purpose; and no monk shall speak to any woman, but before two or three reputable witnesses; nor shall any monk be served or attended on by any woman, in any place whatever. And, in fine, since abbots and priors ought not to run about and wander abroad, our will is, that they do sit in the cloister in company with the brethren, and be present at divine service; especially in the vigils, in the chapter-house, and at saying grace. And we enjoin that no abbot or monk, who shall be within three miles of his abbey or his cell, shall eat or pass the night in the house of any secular. And farther, since the rule when read is often not understood by the juniors, we command that the same be explained to them in the vulgar tongue in the chapter-house. Concerning the riding and airings of the abbots, we wish them to observe this moderation; that no abbot do take more, out of his standing family, than ten attendants, and among them let a monk be the bearer of his cloak; and let inferior abbots be content with fewer attendants, according to the ability of their house. Let the rents, both of the abbey and of the members, be reduced to writing, and an estimate taken of the obventions, though they are uncertain; and let the abbot have one copy, and the prior and convent another, each for private use. If any abbey be unable to maintain its monks, let them be sent and received, by some more able house. And we ordain this rule to be read thrice in the year. We also command, that such abbots as shall preside in the provincial chapter do then appoint certain discreet men to be visitors, with power to visit and inspect all abbeys then having no abbot, and correct such abuses as they find, and make report to the chapter the following year; and these visitors shall every five years write their proceeding unto us.

* Certain prayers to be said every hour.

A P P E N D I X N° III.

See Pages 134 and 144.

ET cum quidam, post prandium, proniores sunt ad loquendum quod non prodest quàm quod ædificat audientes; ad ampliandum cultum justitiæ qui in silentio reperitur, est Statutum; quod Parliamentum, quod post prandium in quibusdam Claustris fieri consuevit, penitus interdicatur: et loco ipsius, vacetur uberius meditationibus et lectionibus repetendis.

In Capitulo tres sunt voces, scilicet Clamantis, Respondentis, et Judicantis. Perturbatores Capituli et inobedientes, et cum Prælati suis proterve contententes, acriter corrigantur; et qui contumaces, a Monasterio expellantur.

Ecclesia munda fiat, et Ornamenta Ecclesiæ.

Negotiationes in Ecclesiis non exercentur, nisi temporibus Nundinarum.

Quando Capitulum celebrabitur, primo die celebratur una Missa de Spir. Sancto, pro Romano Pontifice; pro Rege Angliæ et Reginâ, et suis Hæredibus; et pro familiabus nostri ordinis. Secundo die Capituli, celebretur una Missa pro fidelibus defunctis, pro animabus Regum Angliæ; et nostri Ordinis benefactoribus.

A P P E N D I X N° IV.

See Page 141.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Vicecomiti Hertfertienfi Salut. Si Abbas de Sancto Albano fecerit te securum de clamio suo prosequendo, tunc summonere, per bonos summonitores, Galfridum de Chilwic; Galfridum, Wilhelmum, Joannem, & Richardum, filios ejus; Wilhelmum de Gorham; Thomam de Waux; Walterum et Henricum, filios ejus; Adam de Sumery; David de Carpenville, quod sint coram Justiciariis ad primam Assisam cum in partes illas venerint; ostensuri quave fugaverunt, & leporesceperunt in liberâ Warrennâ suâ de Sancto Albano sine licentiâ suâ; et habens hoc Breve et Submonitores. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, 26 die Junii, anno Reg. nost. 24. Acta apud Hertfordiam à die Nativ. beati Joannis Baptistæ in unum mensem, coram Wilhelmo de Eboraco Præposito de Beverley, Henrico de Bathoniâ, Rogero de Turkebyâ, Gilberto de Prestunâ, Justiciariis ibidem itinerantibus.

They are hereby summoned, and the charge declared against them is, Quod venati sunt in campis suis omnibus in Warrennâ subscriptis, scilicet in campis St. Albani, Kyngesburiâ, Parco, Langelia, Rikemansworthe, Cudicote, Waldene, Sandruge, Tidenhangre, Barnate, & Redburne, & in terris sui Dominii, contra libertatem suam: quâ usus est à tempore Henrici Regis Senis: unde damnificatus ad valentiam Quadraginta Marcarum.

M. Par. ad an. 1240.

A P P E N D I X N° V.

See Page 166.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hybernæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus ad quos præsentēs Litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. *Quia nobis constat, per inspectionem Chartarum quas Abbas S. Albani habet, quod homines ipsius Abbatis non debent venire extra suam Libertatem pro aliqua summonitione vel occasione coram aliquibus Justiciariis vel Inquisitoribus;* Remisimus eidem Abbati centum Libras, ad quas Villata et Libertas Sancti Albani amerciatae fuerunt: Eò quod homines ejusdem Libertatis non venerunt coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Henr. de Mara et Wilhelmo de Wilton apud Cesterhunce, quæ est extra Libertatem prædictam; ad Inquisitiones faciendas de transgressione Cambii, et ad amerciandum transgressiones ejusdem Cambii. Remisimus etiam eidem Abbati duas marcas et dimidium, ad quas N. L. A. S. W. S. et Reginaldus Aurifaber, homines ipsius Abbatis de Libertate prædictâ, amerciati fuerunt coram prædictis Hen. et Wilhelmo pro transgressione prædictâ. In cujus rei testimonium has Litteras fieri fecimus Abbati eidem patentes. Teste Rich. Com. Cornubiæ apud Westmon. Die Octobris 13°, Anno Regni 38°.—1254.

A P P E N D I X N° VI.

See Page 171 and Page 450.

PROTECTION granted by Henry III. to the abbot and monks of Kirkstall, in the county of York.

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we have taken into our protection and defence, our beloved in Christ the abbot and convent of Kirkstall of the Cistercian order, and all their men, lands, things, revenues, and all possessions, not doing to them, or suffering to be done, any wrong, offence, damage, or grievance; and, if any injury be done to them, that you cause the same to be, without delay, made good to them. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be passed to them; and to be in force for two years. Witness myself at St. Paul's, London, the 12th of May, in the forty-fifth year of our reign.

* * * This was renewed by Edward I. in the 4th year of his reign, and was that year extended to a great many more abbeys; the list of which may be seen in the *Monaſticon*.

A P P E N D I X N° VII.

See Page 321.

INVENTORY (inventarium) of all the goods belonging to the altar of St. Lawrence, situate in the North wing, and near the belfry, *anno Domini* 1429, in its original (a).

Sunt ibidem tria Lyntea; unum de panno lineo, duo alia de opere Diaperto; cum eorum frontellis; unum de aureo veteri panno, et aliud de panno lineo cum rosario nominatò Staynnato.

Item duo apparatus altaris; unus cum panno stannato cum *Mariâ* in eodem inscriptâ; cum panno superiori et inferiori. Et alius cum panno inferiori tantum modo de bladio veteri rubro.

Sunt duo vestimenta sacerdotalia: unum de serico panno subrubeco; et aliud de Buftyen albo, cum *Deo gratias* Staynnato.

Item unum missale antiquum; quod quondam desinebat in capellâ Sti. Stephani; novis sumptibus William Abbatis, paratum. Item duæ fialæ de stanno cum uno pyxide ligneo; pro vino aquâ et oblatis panibus imponendis. Item unum analogium ligneum pro missali. Item unum pakysbred ex paratione Dom. Rob. Waræ tunc coquinarii confectum. Et est aliud (Analogium) stanneum cum imagin. inscriptis et insculptis. Item unum candelabrum de auricalco, cum uno fyke et duobus nosell. pro lumine temp. hiemali. Item duo pannioli pro manibus celebrantium detergendis. Omnia ex præemptione Williemi Wynyshall prænotati. Item est ibidem una cistula lignea satis honesta, pro omnibus præscriptis impon. et conservandis. Item duo pannioli albi cum 5 plagiis et desuper Staynnati, pro coopturâ imaginum sanctorum Laurentii et Grimbaldi temp. quadragesimali ex præemptione ejusdem. Item unum tintinabulum et duo candelabra ferrea, fixa ex utrâque parte altaris. Et unum Wyker, (or matt), in longit. altaris per Dom. Rob. Ware collata, pedibus celebrantium supponenda.

(a) Ex. Harl. MSS. 3775.

A P P E N D I X N^o VIII.

See Page 327.

THIS indenture made between John Wheathamsted, abbot of the monastery of St. Alban, and the convent of the same place, on the one part; and Thomas Knollys, the elder, citizen and grocer of London; Nicholas Wotton, citizen and clothier(a) of London; John Snell, clerk; Thomas Belowe, citizen and grocer of London; Thomas Knollys, the younger; Robert Shilley, Esq. and Thomas Oxney, citizen and grocer of London, on the other part; and Richard Hardy, citizen and grocer of London; witnesseth that the aforesaid Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, have granted for themselves and their heirs, to the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their successors, as far as they can give assurance, concerning thirty acres of land and pasture belonging to the said abbot and convent, and their successors, situate in a certain moor, otherwise pasture, called Colneyheth, otherwise called Tydenhangre heth, lying near a certain farm belonging to the said abbot and convent called Conynges, and contiguous to the said farm, and the said thirty acres of land at their pleasure, to inclose and hold in fevralty, at all times of the year, against the said Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, their heirs, assigns, and tenants, for ever. And farther, the said Thomas, &c. for themselves and their heirs, have given up, remitted, and by these presents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim, which they have, or might any ways have, in the aforesaid thirty acres of pasture, to the aforesaid abbot and convent, and their successors for ever. And in like manner the aforesaid abbot and convent have granted for themselves and their successors for ever, to Thomas Knollys the elder, Nicholas Wotton, John Snell, Thomas Belowe, Thomas Knollys the younger, Robert Shilley, Thomas Oxney, and Richard Hardy, their heirs and assigns, as far as they (b) can give assurance concerning ten acres of wood and pasture, belonging to the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. called the Hoke, lying near the said moor or pasture called Colneyheth, otherwise called Tydenhangreheth, and to the same moor contiguous, and at

(a) Pannarium.

(b) Quoad ipsi approbare se possint.

their pleasure to inclose the same, and hold the same in severalty, at all times of the year, against the said abbot and convent and their successors, and all their tenants for ever. And moreover, the aforesaid abbot and convent, for themselves and their successors, have given up and remitted, and by these presents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim which they have or might any ways have in the aforesaid ten acres, unto the aforesaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever.

And also the said abbot and convent, for themselves and their successors have given up, remitted, and quitted claim, to the aforesaid Thomas, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever, all right, title, and claim, which the said abbot and convent have, or they and their successors shall have, to enjoy any way beyond the lands, or in the lands, of the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns in North Mymmes, besides the King's highways, and a certain common way in the field called Church-field there. And also the said abbot and convent have granted for themselves and their heirs for ever, to the aforesaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and assigns for ever, a parcel of the aforesaid moor, called Colneymerth, containing thirty-six acres of pasture. Nor will they inclose or hold in severalty any parcel of the same without the consent of the said Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. besides the thirty acres contiguous to the farm, called Conynges, as hath been above related.

And in like manner it is agreed between the said parties, and with their common consent, that the said abbot and convent shall have, next year, and for one turn, the escape of animals or cattle, called the Indrove, and impark at their pleasure, or confine any animals or cattle which they shall find in the said moor, with power to demand satisfaction for all cattle whose owners have no right of common in the said moor. And that, in the next year after, the said Thomas, &c. shall have the Indrove, and with like liberty to impark and confine all cattle whose owners have in like manner no right of common. And this practice shall go on alternately for ever. In testimony whereof, unto one part of this indenture, and to be reserved in the hands of Thomas Knollys, his heirs, &c. the said abbot and convent have affixed their common seal; and unto the other part of the said indenture, to be reserved in the custody of the abbot and convent, the above named Thomas Knollys, the elder, &c. have affixed their seals. Dated April 1, 8 Henry VI.

A P P E N D I X N° IX.

See Pages 379.

FROM the Patents of the 9th Year of the Reign of King James over England, &c.

THE King, to all to whom, &c. greeting. Know ye, that we, for divers good causes and considerations, us hereunto especially moving, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant, to our beloved subjects, George Whitmore, and Thomas Whitmore, of London, Esqs. their heirs and assigns for ever, all that our borough of Cranborne, in our county of Dorset, with all and singular its members, rights, &c. and also all that burgage, with the curtilages, commonly called or known by the name of Packnetts, situate in Salisbury-street, in Cranborne aforesaid. And all that our hundred of Pymperne, in our county of Dorset, with all its rights, members, liberties, &c. and also the office of bailiff and bailiwick, of the same hundred, and also executions and returns of all and singular warrants, writs, precepts, and mandates of us within the hundred aforesaid. And also all manner of courts leet, view of Frankpledge, and other Courts whatsoever, and perquisites, and profits of the same courts; all which are worth, as by particular of the same, 66s. 8d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands and possessions of lady Catharine, late queen of England. And also all that our hundred of Horthorne, in our county of Somerset, with all rights, &c. of the worth of 6l. 2s. 2d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands called Richmond's lands. And also all that one hundred of Norton Ferris, in our county of Somerset and Wilts, with all and singular its rights, &c. mentioned to be of the yearly rent or value of 33s. 4d. and to have been parcel of the lands of the late lord Stourtone. And also all that our hundred of Rempstone, in our said county of Somerset, with all rights, &c. by a particular, worth 8l. and to have been parcel of the lands and possessions, of Edward, late duke of Somerset. And all that our hundred of Caisnew, with all and singular its rights, members, liberties, arising within our liberty of St. Alban; and office of hundredor there, with the appurtenants; and also all those our rents and farms, within the liberties of St. Alban aforesaid, to the
said

said late office of hundredor belonging, amounting to 78s. 8d. a year. And also all aid of sheriffs to the said hundred of Caishow belonging, amounting to 23s. 3d. and all those our ancient rents and farms to the said hundred belonging, amounting to 8s. a year, and all suits of hundredors at the Tourn respited to the said hundred belonging amounting to 21s. yearly; and all issues of hundred and tourn to the said hundred belonging, amounting to 6s. 8d. a year; which said hundred of Caishow, and said office of hundredor, and other the said premisses to the said hundred belonging, by a particular thereof, mentioned to be of the yearly value of 6l. 17s. 7½d. and to have been lately parcel of the land and possessions of the late abbey of St. Alban. And all that our liberty to the late abbey of St. Alban belonging, appertaining, happening, or arising, in our county of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks, with all and singular its rights, members, and appurtenances, whatsoever; and also all manner of fines, amercements, issues, and profits, whatsoever, coming, growing, renewing, happening, or arising, in or within the liberty of the said late abbey of St. Alban, amounting to 46s. 1½d. a year, *besides* 15l. 19s. 8d. for the fee of hundredor, steward, clerk of the market, bailiff of the said liberty heretofore yearly payable; and *besides* 13l. 6s. 8d. for the diet of the justices of the peace and gaol delivery, heretofore likewise yearly payable. Which said liberties, fines, amercements, issues, and other the premisses, were formerly parcel of the lands and possessions of the late abbey of St. Alban.

A P P E N D I X N^o X.

See Page 406.

RENTAL of Lands and Tenements newly purchased by the Rev. Father
Thomas Ramryge, Abbot, in the 22d of Henry VII.

In Barnet and Ruge.

	s.	d.
OF Robert Nycols, for a tenement and shop in the flesh-market, or shambles there, - - - - -	13	4
Of the same, for four crofts called Dryffelds, late the lands of Tho- mas Dryffeldys, - - - - -	48	0
Of the same, for meadows, and lands, and pastures, called Boryf- lond, late Thomas Deyers, - - - - -	48	0
Of the same for the two acres of meadow called Botlands.		
Of the same, for five crofts of land called Priors, and for two crofts called Gylitrone, and for two tofts of land called Pagys, in Ryge, with all the woods and underwoods, the trees and hegerows ex- cepted, - - - - -	16	8
Of master Thornberry, for lands called Burbages, - - - - -	34	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for rent of lands called Mendhymys, - - - - -	46	8
Of Thomas Benks, for parcel of wood called the Narrow, - - - - -	2	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for a tenement and close, - - - - -	16	0
Of John Rolfe, for a tenement and lands, - - - - -	24	0
Of Elinor Elborow, for land in Barnet, - - - - -	6	8
For lands in the tenure of master Moorton and wife, - - - - -	40	0
Rent of lands there, called Terrys, - - - - -	15	0
Divers rents in Barnet, late John Curtys's, - - - - -	15	0
Rent of a tenement let to a wheelwright, - - - - -	6	0
Rent of lands in Ryge, late John Ashley's, - - - - -	21	0

A P P E N D I X N^o XI.

See Page 446.

Letter from Katharine Bulkeley, Abbess of Godstow, to the Lord Cromwell;
complaining of Dr. London.

PLEASITH hit your honor, with my moste humble dowtye, to be advertised, that when it hath pleasyd your lordship to be the very meane to the king's majestie for my preferment, most unworthy to be abbess of this the king's monasterie of Godystowe: in the which office I trust I have done the best in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honour, with all treuth and obedience to the king's majestie; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in the king's behalfe, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give up the house; nor mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandment or yours; to the which I do and have ever done, and will submit myself most humblie and obedientlie. And I trust to God that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie this poor monasterie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, so it is, my good lord, that Dr. London, whiche (as your lordship doth well know) was against my promotion, and hath ever since borne me great malys and grudge *, like my mortal enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me with a great rowte with him, and here doth threaten me and my sisters, saying, that he hath the king's commission to suppress this house, spyte of my tethe. And when he saw that I was contente that he should do all things according to his commission, and shewyd him playne that I never would surrender to his hand being my awncyent enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I herde tell that the king's subjects hath been so handelyd; and here tarrieth and continueth to my great coste and charges, and will not take my answere that I will not surrender till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's. Therefore, I do most humblie besече you to contynue my good lord, as you have ever been, and to direct your honorable letters to remove him hence. And, whensoever the king's gracious commandment or yours shall come unto me, you shall find me most reddie and obeyant to folloe the

* She was appointed in 1533.

fame. And notwithstanding that Dr. London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall know that the contrary is trewe; for I have not alienatyd one halporth of goods of this monasterie, movable or unmovable, but have rather increased the same; nor never made lease of my farme, or piece of grownde, belongyng to this house; or than hath been in times paste alwaies set under convent seal for the wealth of the house. And therefore my very trust is, that I shall find the kynge as gracious lord unto me as he is to all other his subjects, seyng I have not offendyd; and am and will be moste obedyent to his most gracious commandment at all tymes with the grace of Allmighty Jesus: who ever preserve you in honour longe to endure to his pleasure. Amen.

Your most bounden

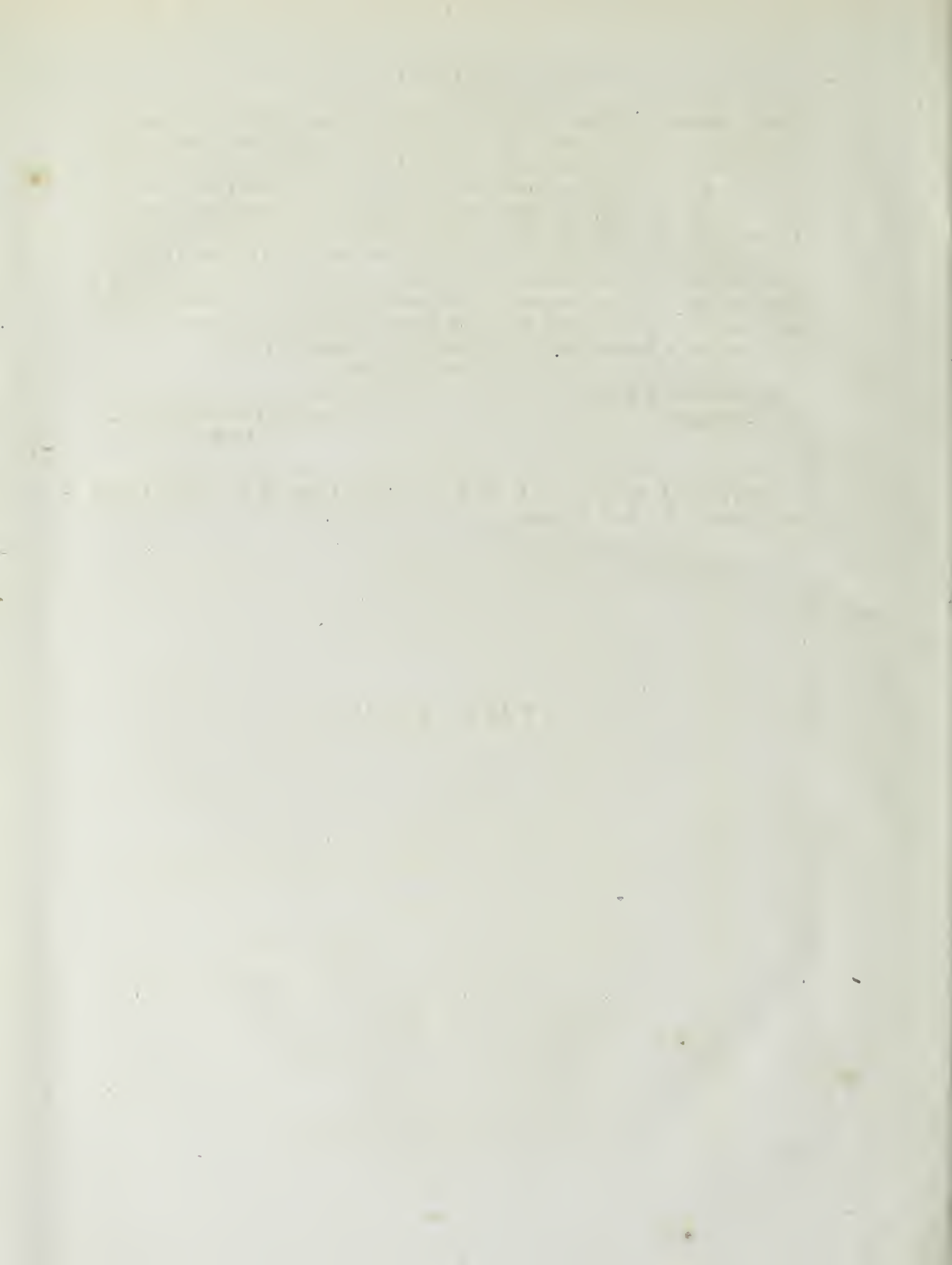
Godstow the 6 day of
November.

Bedswoman,

KATHARINE BULKELEY.
Abbess there.

This letter is to be found in the Cotton MSS, Cleop. E. 4. thence copied by Burnet in his Hist. Reform.

T H E E N D.



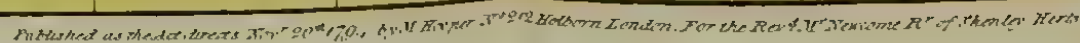
E R R A T A.

- Page 4. line 13. for *possibly may*, read *possibly this*.
 7. 11. for *Sullonomacæ*, read *Sulloniacæ*.
 ib. 12. for *Blockley*, read *Blockley*.
 8. 12. for *verterans*, read *veterans*.
 19. 6. note, for *Petroe*, read *Petroc*.
 24. 16. for *Sufragrans*, read *Suffragans*.
 30. 2. for *Cassinam*, read *Cassinum*.
 44. 8. for *Walstan*, read *Wulstan*.
 55. 17. for *Stanekfield*, read *Stankfield*.
 61. 39. for *and and*, read *and*.
 106. 2. note, for *contended*, read *contested*.
 136. for *booking*, read *Bocking*.
 162. 18. for *Teddington*, read *Tuddington in Bedfordshire*.
 173. 9. for *Reliquis*, read *Reliquit*.
 186. 17. for *Peecham*, read *Peckham*.
 ib. 24. for *unto*, read *under*.
 189. 27. for *counterprixe*, read *counterpoise*.
 204. 11. for *Antichapel*, read *Ante Chapel*.
 217. 19. for *Coadjntor*, read *Coadjutor*.
 227. 2. from bottom, for *Laton*, read *Luton*.

P A R T II.

- In the plate, for *Ent. length 550*, read *539 feet*.
 —————, for *Ent. width 217*, read *174*.
 236. 9. for *Conquinas*, read *Coquinar*.
 ib. 20. for *Archbisshop*, read *Abbot*.
 238. 6. from bottom, for *Ryft*, read *Bystmead*.
 245. 13. for *Wymondam*, read *Wymondham*.
 266. 23. for *Sacra*, read *Sacræ*.
 274. 25. for *Ely*, read *Ebor*.
 282. 15. for *tombes*, read *Combes*.
 332. 9. for *pay*, read *pray*.
 333. 4. from bottom, for *Betterwych*, read *Butterwyck*.
 334. 4. from bottom of note, for *William*, read *Willian*.
 346. 20. for *Robetr*, read *Robert*.
 359. 27. for *there*, read *their manor*.
 368. 10. for *Kydale*, read *Rydale*.
 377. 7. for *Chancel*, read *Charnel house*.
 386. 7. for *to Sand*, read *of Sandridge*.
 394. 1. note, for *Reding*, read *Roding*.
 400. 6. from bottom, for *Artithrenion*, read *Archithvenium*, and again p. 401.
 413. 16. for *Wult*, read *Wulph*.
 441. 9. for *commended*, read *commanded*.
 449. 2. for *post*, read *port*.
 460. 10. from bottom, for *that the lands*, read *that if the lands*.
 471. 4. for *Hendon*, read *Standon*.
 471. note, for, in the *Latin Inquis*, read in the *Latin Inquisition* (in *Roman Char.*) in *Domesday*, i. e. *Hakenorton*.
 476. 10. for *Gassington*, read *Garfington*.
 479. 6. for *Abbeys Aston*, read *Abbots Aston*.
 ib. for *its chapel*, read *its chapels of Harewood*.
 482. 2. for *Hole*, read *Hale*.
 490. 2. from bottom, for *in*, read *on*.
 503. 21. for *Oxford Hall*, read *Orford Hall*.
 504. 16. for *the cause that*, read *the cause: that*.
 508. 4. in the note, for *Hampslead*, read *Hempstead*.
 522. 8. for *Winchester*, read *Winchelsea*.

Drawn and Engraved for
The Rev^d M^r Newcome's History of
S.^T ALBAN'S ABBEY.







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